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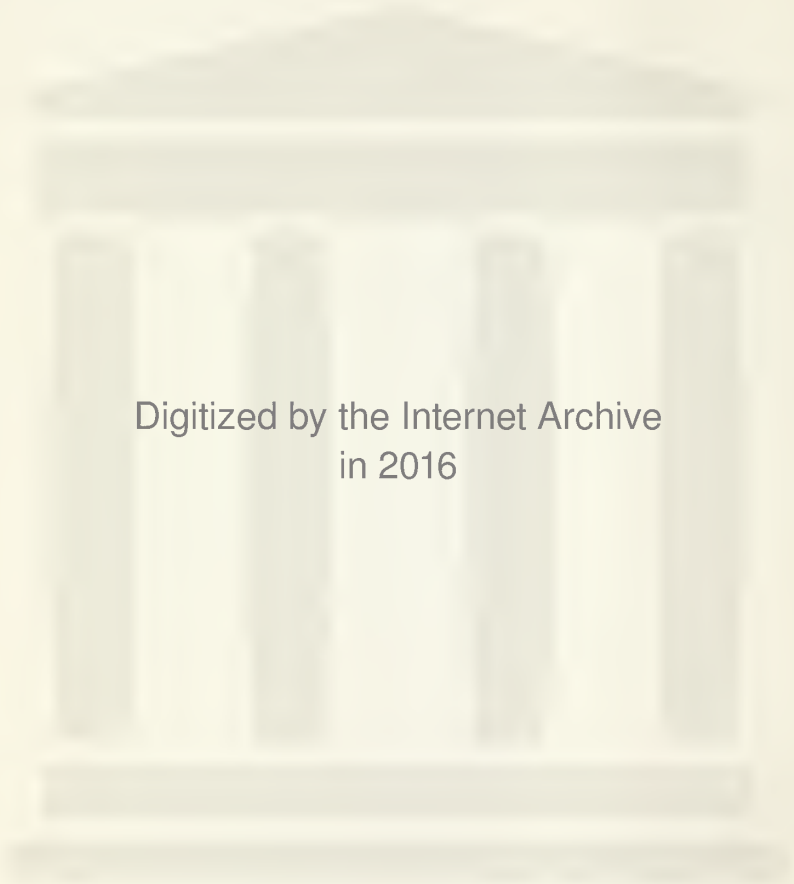
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The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XIX

Vol. 19-21

PROCEEDINGS

FOR THE YEAR 1926

1926-31

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1927

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By a recent vote of the Council, the Proceedings for each year, beginning with 1925, are to be published during the following year, and the volumes now in arrears (1920 to 1924 inclusive) are to be published as opportunity permits. Since many of the programs for those years consisted of informal addresses not preserved, the reading of extracts from books, the exhibition of various collections, and other matters not available for printing, the Proceedings for 1920 and 1921 will eventually be published together as Volume XV, those for 1922 as Volume XVI, and those for 1923 and 1924 as Volume XVII.

Samuel Francis Batchelder, Secretary of this Society for eleven years, died June 10, 1927 in the fifty-seventh year of his age. During a long period of invalidism he had worked with unconquerable courage at the congenial tasks to which he had devoted the best years of his life. To this Society he was more than the faithful and efficient secretary; he was its mainstay, the originator of its activities, inexhaustible in suggestions for its meetings and in resources for attracting members and sustaining their interest. The present volume of Proceedings was the last work to which he put his hand. The manuscript was left in such complete readiness for publication that it could be carried through the press without delay. It is offered as a memorial of his long and faithful service.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Twenty-first Annual Meeting

The Seventy-third Meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society, being the twenty-first annual meeting, was held 26 January, 1926, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Burlingame Hill, 144 Brattle Street. About forty-five members were present.

President Emerton called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The Secretary read his annual report, including that of the Council.

Voted that the report be accepted and referred to the Editor for publication. (Printed, pp. 80–84, *post.*)

The Curator made an oral report and urged that the members present to the Society their own "attic collections" rather than books and printed material already available elsewhere.

Voted that the report be accepted.

The Treasurer made his report, showing a cash balance on hand of $2,150.76, besides a deposit in the Cambridge Savings Bank of $706.30. Mr. Beale read his report as Auditor on the above.

Voted that these reports be accepted and referred as above. (Printed, pp. 85–87, *post.*)

The Auditor then read a supplemental report with recommendations regarding the aforesaid deposit and the financing of further publications of the Proceedings.

Voted to refer these recommendations to the Council with full powers.

The President read a report from Mrs. Gozzaldi as surviving member of the old "Committee on Cambridge Ancestors."

Voted to accept the same and refer as above. (Printed, p. 88, *post.*)

The President announced that he had appointed a nominating committee consisting of Messrs. Horatio S. White, Charles Almy, and J. T. G. Nichols. For this committee Mr. White reported a list of nominations as on p. 89, *post.*

Voted that the Secretary cast one ballot for the officers nominated.

The Secretary announced the ballot cast and the Chair declared their election for 1926.

The President then introduced as the speaker of the evening Leslie Linwood Cleveland, Headmaster of the Cambridge High and Latin School, who gave an extempore address on the teaching of Cambridge history in his school and distributed copies of the syllabus used for that purpose. (Printed, pp. 9–14, *post.*) At the conclusion of his address he answered numerous questions and received several suggestions.

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 27 April, 1926, at the house of Mrs. William Gilson Farlow, 24 Quincy Street. About sixty members were present.

President Emerton called the meeting to order and the minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The Secretary reported on the action of the Council regarding the recommendations of the Auditor referred to them at the last meeting, the principal effect being to postpone further publication of the back volumes of the Proceedings in favor of the prompt appearance of the volume for each year, beginning with 1925. Also that matters now seemed to be in train for the collection of the funds necessary for publishing the Index to Paige's *History*.

MR. JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS of Houghton Mifflin Company then read a paper on the "Story of the Riverside Press." (Printed, pp. 15–31, *post.*) At the conclusion of the paper he answered various questions on the details of the publishing business.

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was scheduled as a lawn party on the afternoon of 5 June, 1926, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Moses Perkins White, 11 Highland Street, Cambridge. Unseasonable weather, however, prevented any gathering out of doors.

About forty members and friends enjoyed afternoon tea in the house, after which the President introduced the speaker, Mrs. DORIS HAYES-CAVANAUGH, who read a paper on the "History of Glass Making in East Cambridge" (printed, pp. 32–45, *post*) and exhibited numerous examples of the various types of glassware referred to. A general discussion of the subject followed and the meeting adjourned about 6 P.M.

SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 26 October, 1926, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Byron Satterlee Hurlbut, 98 Brattle Street. There was an attendance of about seventy.

President Emerton presided. The minutes of the last two meetings were read and allowed.

The Curator exhibited several interesting recent gifts to the Society.

The record book of the "Irving Literary Society" of Cambridgeport (1855–1859), offered for sale by a dealer, was purchased by subscriptions made on the spot.

After a few remarks on securing new members, the President introduced as the speaker of the evening Mrs. MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, who read extracts from the manuscript diaries of Lieutenant George Inman belonging to the Society. (Printed pp. 46–79, *post*.)

The meeting then adjourned for light refreshments.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY IN THE CAMBRIDGE SCHOOLS

SUBSTANCE OF REMARKS BY LESLIE L. CLEVELAND

Headmaster, Cambridge High and Latin Schools

Delivered 26 January, 1926

ABOUT ten years ago the Cambridge schools took up the idea of definite training for good citizenship. Such training is now general in the schools throughout the country, usually under the name of Community Civics. Its keynote is service to the community, and its object is not so much the acquisition of dry facts as the cultivation of an attitude of mind towards public service and the duties of citizenship. We find too that the pupils gain poise, dignity, and the habit of leadership.

In the Cambridge High and Latin Schools this training is given daily. One period a week is devoted to "current events." Other periods are given to a study of the city and state governments, community welfare, the system and operation of the public institutions, etc. The method of "socialized recitations" is used, in which the pupils themselves carry on the class, and the teacher acts as a sort of referee, encouraging discussion but steering it away from unprofitable or too difficult problems. For such a method it is of course essential to find suitable teachers, but we are fortunate in having several who take a real interest in the subject and are very successful in their work. Their aim is not so much to supply facts for the pupils to memorize as to encourage the pupils to go out and discover the facts for themselves. Although this keeps parents continually answering questions and harasses public officials not a little, it is surprising to see the amount of information collected by these alert young minds, whose owners have no hesitation in using very direct methods and in making very frank criticisms.

The history of Cambridge is included as a regular part of this training. It is given in the freshman year so as to reach the

largest number, since many pupils drop out before finishing the course. There are this year 2,860 pupils in the school, between eight and nine hundred of whom are freshmen. There is a variation of about six years in their ages, but the normal age is fourteen. Owing to the small supply of material these freshmen are divided into sections, so that before the year has ended each section has spent about a month on our local history, occupying four periods a week of about forty minutes each. In Cambridge we are fortunate in having such an old and interesting field; the necessary historical background is furnished by the course in United States history given in all the schools.

The foreign-born pupils are especially keen on this work. They absorb a great deal of good from it and acquire a great deal of civic pride. It is also extremely valuable for their parents, who in the discussions at home receive an atmosphere and an outlook they could not otherwise obtain.

We are hampered by a lack of material — Paige's *History* (now rare) and the *Historical Guide to Cambridge* serving as about the only printed sources available. This however is not to be too much regretted, as we are not giving a text-book course and do not want to do so; otherwise the whole subject would degenerate into a matter of memorizing so many pages a day. Much use is made of notebooks. The skeleton of the course is contained in a "catechism," copies of which are distributed this evening (see below). We are anxious to have your suggestions as to this syllabus and to learn where we can get material for the pupils to study. We should be very glad to see any of you at the school at any time, so that you could see for yourselves the methods employed and the results obtained.

A CAMBRIDGE CATECHISM

CHAPTER I. EARLY CAMBRIDGE

1. What was the date of the settlement of Cambridge?
2. What was the purpose of the settlement?
3. Just where were the first houses?
4. Name at least five of the early settlers
5. What is meant by the name of "Newtowne"?

6. What was the boundary of Newtowne in 1644?
   When was name changed to Cambridge?
   Why?
7. What was the government of the settlement?
8. Where was the original town house?
9. What is the oldest church organization?
   Locate the first meeting-house.
10. What is the oldest church building standing?
11. What is meant by the migration of Mr. Hooker and his company?
12. What town did they found?
13. What is meant by the stone — "8 miles to Boston"?
    What was the route taken?
    How did the people cross the Charles River?
    When was the first bridge built?
    Where?
14. When was the first school founded in Cambridge?
    Where?
    Who was the master?
15. Describe one of the early schools.
16. When was the printing industry established in Cambridge?
    Where?
    Who was the first printer?
17. What was the first book published?
18. What was done for the Indians in Cambridge?
19. Find out something about "witchcraft" in Cambridge.
20. Be able to name and locate as well as tell the importance of five historical houses now standing in Cambridge.
21. On your maps locate the following:
    Cow Common, Windmill Hill, The Neck, Creek Lane, highway to Watertown, highway to Menotomy, Graves Neck, Lechmere Point, The Palcs, Wood Street, The Great Swamp, Braintree Street, Spring Street, Charlestown Path, Tory Row.
22. Describe the earliest burying ground.
    Name five people of prominence buried there.
23. Name, locate, and tell the importance of ten historical tablets in Cambridge.

Chapter II. The College in Cambridge

1. What was the date of the founding of the College?
2. Why was it named Harvard?
3. When did it receive its charter?

4. Name the first five presidents.
5. What was the original purpose of the College?
6. What were some of the early ways of raising funds for the College?
7. Which of the college buildings were erected before 1800?

CHAPTER III. MILITARY CAMBRIDGE

THE REVOLUTION

1. Where did the British land in April, 1775?
2. What was done to the great bridge?
3. How many soldiers were quartered in Cambridge?
   Where were the barracks?
4. What became of the College?
5. Of what use was Christ Church?
6. Where were the five fortifications?
7. Where was the "original flag" unfurled?
   Describe it.
8. When did Washington come to Cambridge?
   Where did he live?
9. Tell the story of the Washington Elm.
10. What became of the Tories?
11. When and why did Washington cease to make Cambridge his headquarters?
12. If possible, visit Fort Washington.
13. What Revolutionary War memorial is in Cambridge?

CIVIL WAR

14. Who organized the first company?
    How early was this in the war?
    How many men did Cambridge send?
    Where was the training ground?
    What Civil War memorial is in Cambridge?
    What memorial is at Harvard?

WORLD WAR

15. In what division was Cambridge chiefly represented?
    Name the various kinds of training given in Cambridge during the war.
    How many men did Cambridge contribute to the World War?

Chapter IV. Kinds of Government in Cambridge

1. Name the early form of local government.
2. Name the town officers.
3. How often were town meetings held?
4. In what building were they held?
5. How was Cambridge represented on the Committee of Correspondence?
6. On what two occasions did the Provincial Congress meet in Cambridge?
7. Name the document framed in Cambridge in 1779.
8. How many court houses and jails do you find on record?
9. Where were they located?
10. When did Cambridge become a city?
11. Name some of the objections to its becoming a city.

Chapter V. Streets and Common

Find the reasons for the names of the following streets:
Kirkland, Langdon, Brattle, Magazine, Thorndike, Lawrence, Dunster, Linnaean, Erie, Perry, Gore, Quincy, Winthrop, Inman.

Describe the early use of Cambridge Common.

Later what purpose was it put to?

Describe some important events which took place on the common.

Name the important historic events marked now on the common.

Chapter VI. Cambridge as a Literary and Educational Center

1. What contribution has each of the following Cambridge citizens made to literature, to science, or to Art?

Longfellow	T. W. Higginson	Margaret Fuller
Lowell	W. D. Howells	Louis Agassiz
Holmes	R. H. Dana	Josephine Preston Peabody
John Fiske	Asa Gray	Prescott
Alvan Clark	Washington Allston	

2. Locate and describe the following places:

Elmwood	Margaret Fuller House
Agassiz House	Longfellow House

Chapter VII. Prohibition in Cambridge

1. What is the meaning of "License"?
2. What is the "No License Policy"?

3. What societies and committees first worked to secure "no license" in Cambridge?
4. Name the first year that the majority of the voters voted "no license" in Cambridge.
5. For how many years before the Prohibition Amendment to the United States Constitution was "no license" maintained in Cambridge?
6. Under what title did the Cambridge policy of "no license" become famous throughout the United States?

The following suggestions were made for additions to the "catechism":

Adding Allston Street to the names of the streets in Chapter V.
Discussion on the oldest church in Cambridge.
Mention of the invention of the sewing machine in Cambridge.
Mention of Mount Auburn Cemetery among the points of interest.

THE RIVERSIDE PRESS

By James Duncan Phillips

Vice President and Treasurer of Houghton Mifflin Company

Read 27 April, 1926

In Hawthorne's *House of Seven Gables* he makes that delightfully simple old character, Uncle Venner, say, "In two or three years longer, I shall think of putting aside business and retiring to my farm. That's yonder — the great brick house, you know — the workhouse, most folks call it; but I mean to do my work first, and go there to be idle and enjoy myself." That was not, however, the idea that Henry O. Houghton had when, in 1852, he moved the printing business which he was interested in from Remington Street to what had been the old Cambridge poorhouse near the bank of Charles River. His idea was to make the poorhouse a busy hive of industry and a place of work and accomplishment rather than of idleness.

A story of the Riverside Press is almost inevitably a history of the life work of Mr. Houghton, so it is necessary to see why he was drawn to printing to such an extent as he was. He was bred on a farm way up at the head of the Connecticut Valley in Vermont; but in 1836, when he was thirteen years old, he was apprenticed to H. B. Stacy, the owner of the *Free Press* at Burlington, and for the next six years worked at the case as a compositor; not until he was nineteen did he enter the University of Vermont and gain a college education. From college he came to Boston and fell back on his trade of printer, as he missed a chance to teach, which was what he expected to do, and we just escaped losing a great printer in what might have been an average teacher. He also worked as a reporter on the *Boston Traveller* and did proof reading in Dickinson's stereotype foundry. Mr. Dickinson soon sold out part of his plant, and young Houghton tried to keep going by advertising for general proof reading work at No. 3 Cornhill, Boston. In November, 1848, the real chance of his life came when Mr. Freeman, of the

firm of Freeman & Bolles, offered to sell him his half of the business for $3,000. This was a large sum for the young man and was hard to find; but then as always during his lifetime he found men who believed in him. Some Boston gentlemen endorsed his note for $500, his good brother-in-law, David Scott, loaned another $500, and just at the last gasp, when it seemed as if the deal was likely to fall through, a husband of a cousin living in East Jaffrey, N. H., turned up and offered another $500, which was enough to bind the bargain.

It is a strange commentary on the change of affairs when it is realized that one of our great industries was started by capital earned on New England farms. We should hardly expect to raise the needed capital for a new industry from farmers in Hardwick, Mass., or Jaffrey, N. H., nowadays.

By March, 1849, the business had been moved out to Remington Street in Cambridge. Mr. Houghton wrote, "Have about thirty persons in our employ, are chock-full of business and hardly settled yet." One of the old payroll books shows that in January, 1849, there were only sixteen names on the payroll, with a total of $74 per week.

In the winter of 1849–50 he had a strike. What it was about I do not know, but it worked to his advantage and was the last for nearly forty years.

Now a printer must have strong connections with customers in order to keep a busy shop running, and Mr. Houghton early looked about him. He won the esteem and the work of Mr. James Brown, who was then the moving spirit of the distinguished firm of Little, Brown & Co., then as now eminent publishers. It was at Mr. Brown's suggestion that he rented from him the little old poorhouse opposite Mr. Brown's bindery, and in 1852 Mr. Houghton, who was no longer associated with Mr. Bolles, established on the banks of the Charles the firm of H. O. Houghton & Co., owners of the Riverside Press. The name was suggested by Mr. Brown, but is pretty obviously the name which it should be called by. Right in the middle of the group of brick buildings which now occupy the entire block bounded by the Parkway, River Street, Blackstone Street and Albro Street, adjoining that occupied by the Cambridge Electric Light plant and the Standard Diary Factory, still stands the original brick structure

of the poorhouse, but it is so overtopped by more recent structures as to be hardly discernible.

In April, 1852, when Mr. Houghton moved into the present location, there were fifty names on the payroll, which amounted to $575.22 weekly. There are fifteen times as many now, and his entire payroll is used up almost every hour.

Little, Brown & Co. steadily supplied the Press with work, but that was not enough, and Mr. Houghton was reaching out after more work. Just at this time the new and ambitious firm of Ticknor & Fields was looking about for a printer who could dress the treasures of English and American literature, which they were gathering up, in such beautiful and artistic forms as such literary excellence justified. Mr. Houghton was not satisfied with being a good printer. His taste and sense of artistic elegance in the printed page were of the very best. Beauty, not through elaborate ornament, but through simplicity, clearness and correct proportions, was his ideal. He studied types and spacing, leading and length of lines, with the enthusiasm of a master. Aldus, Bodoni, Pickering, and the other master printers contributed of course to his development of the art; but the clearness and beauty of proportion of his favorite pages are unique, and the excellence of the work of the Riverside Press today is but the continuation of the tradition he started.

This artistic work attracted the attention of a man of unique taste, Mr. O. W. Wight, who had the means to indulge his love of good books. Mr. Wight selected classic authors of whom he felt no adequate editions had been made, edited, planned, made stereotype plates according to his best taste, and then leased these plates to various publishers on a royalty basis. Mr. Houghton was the medium he selected for his work, and together they planned many beautiful books, including the famous Dickens, with Darley's illustrations.

About 1859 Mr. Houghton made another alliance that has continued to this day. Messrs. G. & C. Merriam of Springfield, Mass., were planning a new edition of the famous *Webster's Dictionary*, and the Riverside Press secured the contract. From that day to this, every one of the nice fat, comfortable dictionaries that we have all grown up with at home, at school, and in our offices, have been made at the Riverside Press. The book is

circulated from the Merriam offices in Springfield, but the *International,* and the handy *Collegiate* dictionaries are all made in Cambridge. The big book is a good deal of an achievement, for it requires most skillful craftsmanship to make so large and heavy a volume durable under heavy wear.

One of the reasons for the alliance with the Merriams was that Mr. Houghton was thinking of becoming a publisher as well as a printer, and he was not blind to the fact that some of his publishing friends might not be so eager to encourage a printer who was also a competitor; so it would be well to have a few steady printing customers not in the line of publishing he intended to enter. He had met often Mr. M. M. Hurd, of the firm of Sheldon & Co., school book publishers. Mr. Hurd was anxious to devote his energies to literature rather than education, and on March 1, 1864, they organized the firm of Hurd & Houghton.

All this expansion required more labor, and expert labor, which was scarce in this country. The contract labor law had not been thought of, so Mr. Houghton went to England and hunted up some ten or a dozen good binders and one printer. He paid their fares to America, and treated them so well that some of them worked for him their entire lives, and their children and grandchildren are still at work at Riverside. During this trip the intertwined H's, which was the symbol on the title pages of the Hurd & Houghton books, was designed for him in London.

Soon after this trip to England, a young man joined the organization who was to continue with it as long as he lived, which was nearly forty years. Mr. Horace Scudder began as a reader of manuscripts; but very soon he was the editor-in-chief and had charge of the short-lived *Riverside Magazine for Young People,* which was too far ahead of its time to be really successful, but which brought to the house a standard collection of children's literature which has been turned over and over and is still popular. The famous *Children's Book* that all properly brought up youngsters of my time read aloud is still sold to and treasured by the great mass of old middle class Americans who have cherished our best traditions.

Mr. Scudder was a genial, kindly man with a great feeling for children's literature. The nature of his duties made him a cul-

tivator and harvester of literature, rather than a writer, though he was constantly busy with his pen on those necessary, but often unnoticed contributions to good editions of great authors, the introductions, biographical sketches and notes. He did his best work as an editor, and the high tone and richness of the list of books published by Houghton Mifflin is to no small extent due to his discriminating judgment. His adaptations for children of fables, myths and legends have been a distinguished success for more than half a century. He invented the idea of using real literature in the schools in complete form, rather than the old-fashioned readers which contained little that was worth reading, but which the poor children nevertheless were forced to read and re-read *ad nauseam*.

When Hurd & Houghton was started, Mr. Hurd located in New York, and it was supposed that he would manage the publishing business from there, while Mr. Houghton managed the printing at Cambridge; but it was typical of Mr. Houghton that the end he was connected with always grew. As we have seen, Mr. Scudder, the literary adviser, was in Boston, and in 1868 Mr. George H. Mifflin, a recent graduate of Harvard College, joined the Boston end. Both he and Mr. Scudder were admitted to the firm in 1872, while Mr. Houghton's brother Albert joined the selling end in New York. Mr. Mifflin had been travelling abroad for two years after his graduation in 1865, and returned in the late autumn of 1867. With the help of a friend he secured an introduction to Mr. Houghton, and finally an interview at his Boston office, which was then in the rear of the Ticknor & Fields store, which years later became the Old Corner Book Store. Mr. Mifflin wrote, shortly before his death, a very interesting account of his connection with the business, in which he describes this interview and the routine of the office at that time.

"There was a tiny old pine desk in the farthest rear," wrote Mr. Mifflin, "which Mr. Houghton used simply as his Boston headquarters. How well do I remember our first interview. In my journal, which I kept regularly then, I recorded my impression that he suggested to me, in his looks and manners, Abraham Lincoln. I felt myself immediately drawn to him, and I think he took a fancy to me, although no stock whatever in my

ever making good in that business. How could it be otherwise? I had no experience of any kind, and of course he exaggerated my position as a supposedly well-off college graduate, rather tired of foreign travel, who thought he wanted to work but would soon tire of his job when he realized what it meant. I had no illusions as to any ability, but for many reasons I was eager to experiment. So after repeated interviews he finally consented that I should go to Riverside, and early one February morning in 1868 I found myself, according to appointment, at the office of the Riverside Press, Cambridge, at 7.30 A.M.

"At about quarter past eight Mr. Houghton, in accordance with his then custom, arrived, met me cordially, and I was sent to a desk in the counting room, and given as a first task the copying of bills, under the general charge of the bookkeeper. The life of the office was then quite simple. Mr. Houghton would appear early each morning, handle alone the mail, and then disappear through the building. At about 11 o'clock he went to Boston, where as I have said he had a desk in the rear of the Old Corner Bookstore on Bromfield Street, and later in a corner of the book-selling store of Noyes, Holmes & Co. At this office he could be found almost any day between 11.30 and 1.30, and he was always quite active in seeing customers elsewhere. He almost always returned to his home in Cambridge (which then, and till his death, was on Main Street) and dined with his family. Often he brought business friends or others with him, for he always was most hospitable. At about 3 o'clock he would reappear at Riverside and unload the results of his morning's activities in Boston, and follow up vigorously all the details of the business, both in the office and throughout the Press. At about 5 o'clock all the letters prepared during the day were left on his office desk (which was in the corner end of the building) and he read every letter which went out from the office. This plan was continued for many years, so that practically the entire correspondence passed under his eyes.

"The clerks in the office besides myself were Mr. Allen, the bookkeeper, Mr. Walker, the superintendent, and Mr. Clarke, the correspondence clerk. (Women stenographers were unknown in those days.) This comprised the staff, as I recall it roughly, from 1868 to 1872."

By 1878 both Mr. Hurd and Albert Houghton had retired, and the firm was carrying Boston as well as New York on its imprint, as it has ever since; but the executive management thenceforth was in Boston. Mr. Scudder only remained a member of the firm three years, as business details did not appeal to him as much as literary work.

Before the arrival of the skilled workers whom Mr. Houghton imported from England, the Press had outgrown the poorhouse, and an extension toward the river was built, then the old mansard roof structure which was familiar as the Riverside Press of fifty years ago was built across the Blackstone Street end, making a T-shaped building. A bindery had been added to the printing establishment in 1864, and much of this space was occupied by the binders. One of the features of the printing and binding trade is the need for keeping a vast amount of material in process lying about. Unlike most factories, where the work flows steadily ahead, books in all stages are constantly waiting for something to be added. The result is that they take a lot of room in the working space. This can partly be cared for by ample adjacent storage space, so a large but severely plain store house was built in an inconspicuous place by the river, and by the chance of fate now occupies the most conspicuous place in the whole plant, actually jutting out into the Parkway; but it must be remembered the Parkway ran across our back lot, we did not build this object of beauty in our front yard. As the Press lives and prospers probably you will see the spectacle of its gradually turning itself around, but very slowly after the manner of large bodies.

One of the reasons why Mr. Houghton had hesitated long before embarking in publishing, as I have said, had been his close relations with other publishers in the printing of books. These relations were sure to be jarred by his appearance as a competitor. That with Ticknor & Fields was the choicest of these relationships. The name of that firm is so much of a household word in New England that few people realize that the original partnership existed for just ten years, albeit those years were the richest of all the years for New England literature. Mr. William D. Ticknor had been the head of a firm of his name from 1834 to 1854, and in the latter year Mr. James T.

Fields became his sole partner and so continued till 1864, when Mr. Ticknor died. Although Mr. Fields with other partners continued the name till 1868, it was a different organization. In 1868 it merged into Fields Osgood & Co., and in 1871 into James R. Osgood & Co., which lasted till 1878. All this bears on our subject because Ticknor & Fields and their successors finally disappeared into Houghton Mifflin Co. When Mr. William D. Ticknor died, Hurd & Houghton was just starting, and while the Ticknor & Fields organization suffered at least five reorganizations in the next fourteen years, Hurd & Houghton carried the two original partners through to the finish.

James R. Osgood & Co. was in many ways a brilliant organzation, but it had one fatal weakness. It did not have a sure and steady hand on the treasury, and a shortage of money began to be apparent. The magazines were the most salable asset, and *Our Young Folks* was sold to New York and became *St. Nicholas.* The *Atlantic* went next, and was bought by Mr. Houghton; and it is a curious fact that, although it was published for thirty years by Houghton Mifflin Co., it was owned by Mr. Houghton and Mr. Mifflin personally, not by the firm, and was sold by them to the Atlantic Monthly Co. in 1908.

Every Saturday went next, and was also bought by Mr. Houghton and given decent and respectable burial a few years later. Last went the *North American Review* to New York, and all the old Ticknor & Fields periodicals had gone. The money which the magazines brought did not settle the difficulty, and at last the old firm itself turned to the vigorous young firm that never seemed to have any financial difficulties. The merger was not without advantages on both sides; Mr. Osgood brought the great group of New England authors then, and for a long time thereafter, fully covered by copyright. Mr. Houghton brought a substantial but less brilliant publishing list, a well-equipped plant where all the books could be manufactured and stored, and better than all else sound, financial brains. All the other partners dropped out of both firms, except Mr. Houghton, Mr. Osgood and Mr. Mifflin, who went on as Houghton Osgood & Co.

But things did not go well. Too many obligations had been assumed from the Osgood firm, too much slow-selling stock had

been taken over from them, and also a heliotype company that Osgood owned. Just after Christmas in 1879 when things were at their worst, the whole publishing establishment in Boston went up in smoke, and the problem was solved. The slow-moving stock was insured. Mr. Houghton's friends, notably Mr. Lawson Valentine of New York and Mr. S. D. Warren of Boston, rallied around him but would not rally to Mr. Osgood. So Mr. Osgood retired, and out of the ashes rose Houghton Mifflin & Co. and opened offices at 4 Park Street, Boston, just forty-six years ago this year.

The combined list was almost incredibly rich in titles. All of Lowell, of Longfellow, of Whittier, of Emerson, of Holmes, of Hawthorne, of Thoreau, of Mrs. Stowe, some of Bryant and of Bayard Taylor, as well as the early works of many others later to become famous, like Aldrich, Howells, Burroughs, Sarah Orne Jewett, Henry James, and all protected by copyright for years to come! Certainly no publishing house in America has ever assembled such a collection of stars of the first magnitude.

While Mr. Osgood parted with Mr. Houghton pleasantly enough, rivalry soon sprung up. The old name of James R. Osgood & Co. was revived, and various parts of the old organization competed rather unsuccessfully with the new one for the next ten years, till the last remnants were garnered in, most of them through financial collapse; but in all the forty-six years since it was founded, every bill of the firm then founded has been paid when due, every copyright statement has been rendered on the exact date when due, and every royalty paid on the exact date, neither the day before nor the day after.

The new firm did not rest on its laurels for a moment. It couldn't. It had to fight for its life. Nothing dies so quickly as a publishing house, once it begins to rest on its oars. The list of famous authors which I have enumerated was issued and reissued in new forms. Single volume editions of the complete poems, called "household editions," and many volumes of library editions, usually called "Riverside editions," appeared, and all were notable for skillful editing and skillful typography. The pages were clearly printed with good firm impression of uniform color, and the books had artistic and attractive bindings. They opened well and could be held comfortably in the hand.

A lot of new ventures were started. The *American Statesmen*, which are today the standard brief biographies of our leading statesmen, began to appear in 1881. In 1882 a few little paper-covered pamphlets, selling at fifteen cents each, appeared, each one containing a single great classic — first *Evangeline*, then *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, then *Snowbound*. It was suggested that the schools would do better to put these complete literary masterpieces before their children rather than the abbreviated selections that formed the literary hash presented in the ordinary readers. About 6,000 were sold in 1882, but the idea took, the list expanded, and twenty-five years later they were going at the rate of a million a year.

These little pamphlets must be cheap or they could not be sold, but they were made as well as they could be made. It often costs no more (except in brains) to make a book well than ill. These little books had paper covers, but the problem had been carefully studied to get a paper that would "dog ear" as little as any paper cover could be expected to. The paper in them was cheap, but it was opaque, and the right tint to look right and read easily. They were fastened together with wire staples, but it was done in such a way that they would open well and not come to pieces.

A great many other ventures were started, prospered for their appointed time, served their day well and passed out. One that deserves special mention was Elihu Vedder's edition of Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat*, produced first as a folio at $25 a volume, then as a quarto, and finally on a reduced scale. It was a most beautiful pictorial setting for a beautiful poem, and had a wide sale forty years ago.

This book had as a decoration on the title page a little picture of a boy on a river bank sailing paper boats, and Mr. Vedder had worked into the picture Mr. Houghton's favorite motto, "Tout bien ou rien." (Do it well or not at all.) The idea pleased Mr. Houghton, and it was used on other books; but in the autumn of 1885, Mr. Sidney L. Smith, the famous illustrator, took the idea of the boy by the river sailing boats, gave him a flute and a lamp and placed the words "The Riverside Press" below, and the colophon of Houghton Mifflin Co. had come into existence. Its form varies in innumerable styles, but always the

boy sits under the tree by the river with his flute, and he has been inscribed on more volumes than ever bore the imprint of Geoffrey Tory, and all his predecessors.

Another monumental venture started in the eighties was Professor Sargent's *Silva of North America*, originally issued in thirteen volumes for $300. This is an accurate and beautifully illustrated description of all the trees that grow naturally in North America, except in Mexico.

It would be wearisome to enumerate all the ventures started in that prolific period of the eighties, and we ought to turn back to the Riverside Press, where we left Mr. Mifflin copying bills after his first entry into the business. By 1871 the plant was nearly as it was in the 90's when I joined the organization. There were about 300 employees there then, but it must be remembered that the Riverside Press was printing and binding books for a number of New York publishers, such as Charles Scribner, as well as for Ticknor & Fields' successors and Hurd & Houghton. As Houghton Mifflin & Co.'s business increased, the increased demand on the factory was met by crowding out the outside work. From a small portion of the total product it grew to half, then three quarters, and by 1900 the Press was stretched to its utmost capacity, and practically all the work was for its own publishing departments, except for the faithful *Dictionary*, which was still being made.

The labor at the Press has always been an industrious group of people. Men and women cannot work on books all day long without getting curious about them, and then they begin to read, and it is remarkable how much some of the older people have read. Mr. Houghton believed in keeping his people contented, and the record for length of service has been remarkable. About a dozen years ago we checked up the 630 people in the mechanical departments, and we found that 70% of them had worked for us more than 5 years; of these 89 had been with us over 20 years, 62 over 30 years, and 45 over 40 years. That is, 196, or near 30% of the total, had a standing of over 20 years. Another interesting thing is that the sons and daughters of old employees join the force, live their lives with us, and their children take up the work. In several cases we have a third and fourth generation still with us.

An attempt has always been made to interest people of all grades in the business. One of the earliest attempts at profit sharing in this country was started in the Riverside Press and has gone on for a great many years. Personally I think that all the so-called profit sharing schemes are incorrectly named. There can be no such thing as profit sharing unless the persons involved are ready to take their share of losses as well as profits. You never heard one of these schemes called a loss sharing arrangement. I never heard of anybody who would join a loss sharing arrangement, but every investment that the ordinary person makes is really a scheme for sharing not only profits but losses. When the prudent investor distributes his holdings through many kinds of industry, it is because he knows he may be called on to share losses as well as profits, though he may not admit it even to himself.

It would neither be prudent nor permissible for the ordinary wage earner to invest the small savings of years in a business where he might lose it all, even if he worked in the business himself. The number of men even in a great business who have the data to determine and the brains to know whether the business is making or losing money is very few indeed. Often the managers deceive themselves, and certainly none of the wage workers have the faintest idea which way things are going. In view of the fact that the wage worker has no knowledge of the trend of affairs, can have only the most remote influence on the success of the concern, and, even if he were able to discern and help, has no business to invest his entire capital on one risk, what is the use of talking about profit sharing? A wage worker's capital must be securely guaranteed not only in the capital itself, but also in a steady, sure return on his investment. This is not consistent with large profits. Profits imply risks, and the higher the profit usually the greater the risk.

Mr. Houghton's method was to allow the people to make small loans to the business, guarantee them 6% on all amounts put in, and then give them an extra return up to 10% on all amounts of $100 or more invested for the entire year. This extra has always brought the return up to the dividends paid on the stock of the company, and that is the policy of the management.

As the company has no other indebtedness, and these employees' loans in the credit department, as it is called, are a first charge on all the property of the printing and publishing departments equally, to more than fifty times the amount of the loans, and have never failed to earn the full interest for sixty years, it is as safe and sure as most human things. At any rate the employees believe in it, for it grew until we had to reduce the limit for loans from $1000 to $500 and it is now getting as large as the management care to be responsible for, because all feel that those loans are a sacred obligation of the company and must be carried with all safety through every storm that blows. A very considerable percentage of the employees are interested in it, and it makes for thrift, conservatism, interest in business and good will to the management. One of Mr. Ford's publicity agents recently announced in the *Outlook* exactly this scheme as a great new idea of Mr. Ford's; but unfortunately Mr. N. P. Gilman had described Mr. Houghton's scheme in his book on *Profit Sharing* as a unique idea of the Riverside Press some thirty years before the wheezy little "tin Lizzie" began to block the highways.

Those who have passed along the Parkway during the last twenty-five years have probably not noticed particularly what has been going on at Riverside, but the changes have been very important. From 1871 to 1900 there were few changes. A little excrescence was added to the back of the main building for an electrotype department, and another little brick building was run out nearer Blackstone Street for sheet storage, but neither was very imposing. The making of the Parkway, however, took half our press room, so an equal amount of space was added at the other end. It was not till 1905 that real expansion began. In that year the solid square building toward River Street was built solely for the storage of books, and it now contains about as many volumes as the Widener Library. Next, a building of equal size was built at the other end of the main building to house the composition and proofreading departments more adequately. Soon the press room reached out a long arm to Blackstone Street and along it, to accommodate a lot of the largest and newest type of Miehle cylinder presses. The building program was halted by the war, but began again soon with the

construction of the new bindery building along Blackstone Street. This is a large four-story reinforced concrete building, connected with the cylinder press room, and is used entirely for binding and the storage of finished school books. The cylinder press room and the new bindery make a complete unit for the manufacture of large editions of novels, school books and such other books as are manufactured in editions of 10,000 and upwards. The old bindery also connects with the cylinder press room, and with the Adams press room, where small editions are manufactured, and the work flows from them into the original shipping room.

As the business grows, the line of expansion will be along Blackstone Street and down River Street toward the Parkway on land already purchased by the company; the old buildings toward the river will be removed, and we shall be facing the main highway to Boston. This change will not be made faster than the needs of the business warrant, just for appearance, but we hope to keep our grounds as neat as any manufacturing grounds can be.

But organizations do not grow by building factories, they grow by adding men with brains, and training those men with technical skill and business experience. More important yet, they must be inspired with a desire to work, and a loyalty to the industry they cherish and serve. Mr. Mifflin had a great gift for inspiring men with enthusiasm for their chosen profession and a love of work. Men had come into the business between 1870 and 1880 and had gone out of it. Mr. Aldrich became editor of the *Atlantic* and a literary adviser in 1880, and resigned in 1890. Mr. James A. Hurd, a son of the original Mr. M. M. Hurd, joined the force, became a partner and was taken away by death. Mr. T. B. Ticknor was brought in in one of the mergers and continued for many years as a strong and able worker. Mr. Francis J. Garrison was for many years the confidential and efficient helper of both Mr. Houghton and Mr. Mifflin. Mr. Winthrop S. Scudder was also connected with the Press.

In 1895, when Mr. Houghton died, Mr. Mifflin had as active partners, Mr. Harry Houghton, son of the founder, and Mr. James Murray Kay. Harry Houghton was the genial but effi-

cient active head of the Riverside Press. Mr. Kay was a delightful and companionable Scotsman, with a strong financial sense, which made him an admirable watch dog of the treasury. Two sons of that brother of Mr. Houghton senior who had been a member of Hurd & Houghton in the 70's joined the firm in 1895, but were always connected with the New York end. Mr. Horace Scudder had succeeded Mr. Aldrich as editor of the *Atlantic*, but soon turned it over to the late Walter H. Page, a vigorous, kindly and inspiring man. Mr. Azariah Smith presided over the advertising department, and Mr. Henry N. Wheeler had built up the sales of the Riverside Literature Series into an educational business of considerable standing, and had added other important titles like Fiske's *History of the United States* for schools.

This was a vigorous group of men in the nineties. The great New England group of authors were still largely in copyright, and were turned over and over to meet changing demands. New authors were also attached to the house: Mrs. Wiggin, Hopkinson Smith, Mrs. Deland and many others. The achievements of the house were notable, and included the starting of the famous Cambridge Edition of the Poets by Horace Scudder, which is still the standard one-volume American edition, both for library and student use.

At this time in the background among the clerks and office boys would have been seen Mr. Edward R. Houghton, a nephew of the founder, Mr. Stephen B. Davol, the writer, and Mr. Roger L. Scaife, all recent college graduates. Mr. Houghton was connected with the printing department, Mr. Davol with the educational, the writer vibrated between editorial and educational functions, and Mr. Scaife was in the advertising work. Soon after 1900 Mr. Ferris Greenslet joined the editorial department for general books, and Mr. Franklin S. Hoyt became editor for the educational books. Mr. Benjamin H. Ticknor specialized in the selling department, and Mr. Harrison Mifflin went out to the Press.

It was well that these men were in training, for changes came thick and fast in the next few years. Mr. Scudder died in 1902, and Mr. Page retired to found the firm of Doubleday Page & Co. Between 1904 and 1906 Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Harry Houghton,

Mr. Oscar Houghton and Mr. Azariah Smith all died; so only Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Kay, Mr. Garrison and Mr. J. B. Ticknor were left of the original group. Naturally Mr. Mifflin and Mr. Kay wanted to divide the responsibility with younger men, so the business was incorporated, which obviated the danger of a large partnership interest being withdrawn at any time. Five of the young men were admitted to ownership, a substantial addition was made by them to the capital, and the new owners along with the old became members of the directorate. It was indeed fortunate for the younger men that Mr. Mifflin and Mr. Kay remained so long to guide and help them. But with the beginning of 1921, with the death of Mr. Mifflin, after more than fifty years of service, the entire control fell into the hands of the so-called younger men, who are fast passing out of that category and need to look for their own successors — can in fact already see them appearing.

During the last twenty-five years the general list of books has constantly renewed itself with many very successful books. A distinguished line of successes in fiction, from Mary Johnston to Sabatini, has regularly produced "best sellers." A list which has given me peculiar satisfaction is the biographies, such as Mr. Thayer's *John Hay, The Education of Henry Adams*, Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall* and *The Intimate Papers* of Colonel House. In general the trade department, so-called, has kept up its end in quality and increased the business; but the most distinguished success of the last twenty-five years has been in the educational department, which is about twelve times as big as it was in 1900, and exceeds in sales all the rest of the house put together.

It has been the ambition of this department, which is presided over by Mr. Davol, Mr. Hoyt and the writer, to spread from the little paper classics out over all the fields of human knowledge. It first spread through the field of English, then history, philosophy, psychology, education and mathematics, for all types and all grades of schools. Education has been the greatest of all the American — shall I say — industries of the twentieth century, and now Houghton Mifflin Co. is one of three or four great text-book houses of the country. There are many school books whose sales make the sale of the most popular

novel look diminutive. There is an average of more than two million children in each grade of school work every year. All these children must have books, but it is not the parent, or the school committee, or the school superintendent, or the teachers who take thought that on the first Tuesday in September books must be put into the hands of each one of their squirming charges on the very day school opens. A majority of these orders are sent in a week or two in advance, and not a few arrive by wire the night before, regardless of the fact that in the ordinary course of events it takes a month or six weeks to complete any edition of considerable size. But long before the teacher knows she is going to use a certain book, careful men have figured out, on the theory of averages, the possible need for every book, and have actually ordered and printed those books. We began to print the books for next September in November of last year. All this may seem very prosy and commonplace, but if there were no more books for the twenty million school children of American than the school authorities had ordered in June, the results would be dramatic enough for anybody. School books are not handled in dozens or packages, but in carload lots, 40,000 lbs. to the carload, worth $40,000 a car.

I am afraid I should apologize for my title, or rather for the way I have flitted about it, instead of giving you a chronological history of it. But the truth is chronology and statistics only seem to tell the story. It is the lives of the people that count; but if I were to wander off into the stories of the people who have given lives of faithful service to the Press, so that it in turn could serve the intellectual life of the nation, there would be no end to it. There are too many people, and too much faithful service. It was all summed up in a memorandum that came to my desk a day or two ago:

"It is recommended that John Smith be pensioned for 47 years of continuous faithful service for the Company, as he is too unwell to work."

My thought was one of regret that he was not able to have kept on to get his gold watch for fifty years of service, as so many have done; but he has surely done his part.

EARLY GLASS MAKING IN EAST CAMBRIDGE

BY DORIS HAYES-CAVANAUGH

Read 5 June, 1926

MUCH has been said recently about the business growth of Cambridge, and a number of publications have stressed the fact that Cambridge, and particularly the section known as East Cambridge, now stands very high in the scale of New England manufacturing centres. Imposing schedules of plants and factories have appeared, setting forth large capitalizations and startling production-figures, but none of them even vaguely refers to the fact that there was in East Cambridge, more than one hundred years ago, a factory whose products were sent all over the world, whose methods revolutionized a great industry, and whose yearly business grew to half a million dollars. This was the New England Glass Company, formed in 1818, and continuing in business in East Cambridge until 1888, when the discovery that natural gas could be used most inexpensively in glass making, added to the threat of a glass-workers' strike, caused the business to be moved to Ohio.

Although the search for "early glass" is one of the more recent phases of present-day antique collecting, 1817 is not a very early date in the history of American glass making. The first trace of glass making in America is found in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608, when the English colonists under Captain Christopher Newport gave the first impetus to this very decorative craft. Shortly after, a second essay at glass making was carried out under Captain John Smith. He built a second glass house in 1621, which was at work until 1625. A few beads of lovely colorings which were made at that time are still to be seen in the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Arts. They were evidently made up for trading with the Indians, but unfortunately history does not state whether Pocahontas led the fashion by wearing them or not.

In 1638 or 1639, window glass, bull's eyes, rude bottles and

other glass necessities were made at Salem, Massachusetts, but this venture lived only three or four years. In 1654–1656 we hear of two Dutch glass-makers, Jan Smeedes and Evert Duyckingk, but none of their actual work remains. By 1683, an English glass-maker, Joshua Tittery from Newcastle on Tyne, operated a glass house, and in 1787 a member of the Pennypacker family founded a glass house which continued for four or five years. New York boasted two factories in 1732, and Caspar Wistar started his New Jersey factory in 1729, a notable date in the history of American glass making. He brought over artisans from Holland to teach "his son and himself, and no one else" the secrets of glass-making. He produced the first flint glass, his green color being in great favor, and his dark blue, a much scarcer color, being of exceptionally good quality.

"Baron" Heinrich Stiegel, that picturesque and now almost legendary figure of early American glass making, started his glass works in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This young German had come from near Cologne to America in 1750, and soon became a prominent landowner and ironmaster. By 1765 he had a splendid glass factory and was making what is now the greatly sought-for and most valuable American glass. The wonderful colors are much copied even today, and his engraved glass is remarkable for its color and brilliancy. The patterns, although crude, are always graceful. But the painted glass with its brilliant reds, blues, yellows and whites was made under the "Baron's" personal supervision, and extraordinary results were achieved. The designs were typically German. The meteoric business career of Stiegel was suddenly ended by debt in 1774, and the glass making came to an end at the same time.

To these two men, Caspar Wistar and Heinrich Stiegel, the colonists owed much, for the beautiful glass which they made was one of the first channels through which beauty came into the homes of our country. Stiegel and Wistar glass has been found in out-of-the-way parts of South and West Jersey, all through the Middle Atlantic States and New England. Much of the Stiegel glass was sent to Boston. The best permanent exhibits of the work of these early makers are to be found in the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art in Philadelphia and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

In New England also several glass plants were started quite early. In 1639 a plant was started in Salem which prospered considerably in the making of glass bottles. No specimens of the work are known to exist, but fragments of glass still to be found on the site of the factory prove it to have been a very crude sort. In what is now a part of Quincy, a group of German workmen started a glass works which had a varied line of products, including lamps. The spiral twist was the distinguishing feature of their designs, but the quality of the glass was not good. Robert Hewes began to manufacture glass lamps and a general line of glass ware in Temple, New Hampshire, in 1780. All the lamps made at this plant were made to use patented burners, in which the wick came through a perforated cork instead of through pewter or brass caps as formerly. A company was established at Chelmsford in 1820 for the manufacture of window glass. About three hundred and thirty feet of window glass annually was made here, and much of it sold by the agent of the New England Glass Company in Boston.

In 1787 a glass factory was started in Boston on Essex Street by Whalley and Hunnewell. They later took into the firm a German named Lint, were given a bounty by the state, and prospered. From 1822 the business was known as the Boston Window Glass Company. A larger factory was erected in South Boston in 1811, but blowers were very hard to get, on account of the War of 1812, in spite of sending to England for them. Flint glass workers who had come from England earlier were finally secured. The South Boston plant failed several times, but started up again each time and was still running in 1854. Several of the workmen from this plant later went to the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company. I have an original bill of "The Glass-House Essex Street" dated Boston, February 13, 1798, on which one Mr. Moses Billings is charged $12.67 for 100 lights of glass, seven by nine inches in size, which quite nearly approximates the present price. The product of this factory was so highly thought of that it set the standard of quality for many years. A picture of the South Boston plant shows that it was decidedly sizable for the times.

In 1811, the Porcelain and Glass Manufacturing Company was formed, and built a factory at East Cambridge. I have a

newspaper clipping from the *Columbian Centinel* of February 24, 1816, reminding the stockholders of the Boston Porcelain and Glass Manufacturing Company of the annual meeting, which is signed by Thomas Jackson, clerk of the corporation. With it is a receipt for a sixty dollar assessment on six shares of stock in the company, signed by Robert Sugden. This receipt is dated in Cambridge on the first of April, 1817, and must have been given at the beginning of the financial trouble of the company; because before 1817 had drawn to a close, the company and the plant were sold at auction. A new company bought it, and it was renamed the New England Glass Company. The company had an initial capital of $40,000, employed forty hands, and ran one six-pot furnace with 700 pounds to each pot.

There were four men concerned in the forming of this new company: Amos Binney, Edmund Munroe, Daniel Hastings and Deming Jarves. The company was incorporated by the state of Massachusetts, and when I hunted up the act of incorporation in the Massachusetts archives, I found that the actual signers were Amos Binney and Edmund Munroe. Of these four men, two have a great interest for us, and in summing up the available information it seems to me that they had more to do with the actual building of the business than the others. They were Edmund Munroe and Deming Jarves.

Edmund Munroe was born in Lexington, a member of the historic family so long associated in our minds with the Munroe Tavern and the Lexington fight. As a young man he started in the banking business, and his rise was very rapid. He early went out to Munroe Falls in Ohio and established a bank there which was highly successful. On returning to Boston, he went into the textile field and into shipping. His cousin was the head of the great Paris banking house of Munroe and Company, and through him Edmund Munroe soon had world-wide business contacts. His ships brought cargoes of merchandise from many ports, and he was one of the first to see the possibilities for America in the export trade. Edmund Munroe married three times, and through his third wife, Miss Sewall of the famous Maine maritime family, he greatly strengthened his shipping connections. A portrait of him shows many of the qualities which made him successful in business when foreign trade was

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even more of a gamble than it is today. His eyes are keen but humorous, and his high, thoughtful forehead and firmly cut mouth give evidence of the sort of "backbone" and perseverance that New England business of those days was built on.

Deming Jarves on the other hand was a practical glass maker. He was a man of considerable education who had made a deep study of glass making from earliest times. Later, after he had founded the Sandwich works, he wrote a little book of his formulae and receipts for glass making. Selections from it have recently been published in the *Transcript* and in *Antiques* magazine. It covers a good bit of glass history, even going back to Phoenician glass. One point which he made interested me. In Venice, glass making was considered an art rather than a craft or trade, and apprentices of that day were selected with meticulous care. Jarves quotes one case in Venice where a lady of the nobility (I think it was the Doge's daughter) was married amid great pomp and festivity to "a gentleman glass-maker."

Jarves was a voter here in Cambridge in 1822, a selectman in 1823–24, and representative to the General Court in 1828. He was the agent for the New England Glass Company — sales-manager, we should call him today; and while Munroe arranged for the capital and credit for the new concern, Jarves found the markets and had much to do with the manufacturing end of the business. In looking up this family, I found three Deming Jarveses: the elder, who was in the dry goods business; the second, of whom we have just been speaking; and Deming Jarves III, who made his home in Paris and was of much help to Americans in the late war. He died, I believe, about three years ago.

The following is a quotation from an article about the New England Glass Works taken from *Gleason's Pictorial and Drawing Room Companion*, a weekly newspaper of the mid-century, which, although it was not quite so fashionable as *Godey's Lady's Book*, was very widely read: "There is hardly a home from Maine to Louisiana which has not more or less of this excellent ware in domestic use. Every description of glassware, from a simple pressed glass wine glass to the most elaborately cut and richly plated, gilded, silvered and engraved glass is produced in a style of beauty and excellence unrivalled in the

world." The article then goes on to invite the reader to visit the plant, and he is informed that it is the oldest establishment of the kind but one, and the largest in the world. This was in 1851. About 450 workmen were then employed, there were some thirteen buildings, and the capital stock of the company was $400,000, on which a semi-annual dividend was paid. Two years later the capital was increased to half a million, there were five furnaces with ten pots of 2,000 pounds each, and 500 hands, and the annual business amounted to $500,000. The earnings of the company afforded a large percentage of profit, and its shares were never to be found in the market!

This article goes on to speak of the chimney at the New England factory: "It looms up loftily [what a talent for alliteration those Victorian reporters had!] to the eye that regards this part of Cambridge from a distance — it is 230 feet high — actually ten feet higher than Bunker Hill Monument!" This chimney was connected by underground tubes to the smallest as well as the largest furnaces, so that the smoke and gases were carried off into the air at a great height. Speaking of this chimney, it amused me very much a year or so ago, when I was trying to find out something about the kinds of glass that were made at the New England plant, to find, on asking several people whose families had dwelt for generations in Cambridge, that not one of them could tell me what kind of glass was made there, although all in their youth had been taken to the factory to watch the fascinating process of glass-blowing. But each separate individual told me that the chimney was ten feet higher than Bunker Hill Monument!

The New England Glass Company's warerooms in Boston were in the old Sun Tavern on Batterymarch Street. Later, Mr. Richard Briggs was the selling agent in Boston; and many of you who remember the quality of his lovely glass and china will realize that New England glass must have appealed to a fine clientèle or Mr. Briggs would not have stocked it. The very fact that Mr. Briggs was the agent is one of the strongest arguments that I can imagine against the theory that New England glass was made up to be peddled around the country on the itinerant tin peddler's cart, as we are sure Sandwich glass was. Nor was New England ever made for advertising premiums, as Sandwich

was. These two tiny catalogs of Richard Briggs show that people were much more willing to buy on faith than they are today, for the only picture in them is of a new style student's lamp.

The life of a glass-maker in those days was a hard one, for the excessive heat under which the glass was melted, the gases which he drew into his lungs, and the tremendous pressure which was necessary in the physical process of blowing the glass made the mortality percentage in his craft very high. In 1827 the pressing mould for glass was invented by a workman named Robinson at the New England factory; though the invention was taken up at once and much more extensively used at the Sandwich factory. This mould revolutionized glass making, and also made it possible for a glass-maker to live out his allotted span of years. An infinite variety of glass could now be made with a great saving of time and money. That this humanitarian and labor-saving device, which completely altered a great industry, was, like the sewing machine, invented in Cambridge, is a fact that is not as well known as it should be.

A short while ago I had the good fortune to be taken over the glass works of the Pairpont Manufacturing Company at New Bedford, which was formerly the Mount Washington Glass Company. Of the many Massachusetts glass factories once in operation, this is the only one left that is still making glass in the way that they did at the New England. Perhaps I should except the Union Glass Works at Somerville, but that plant was shut down a few months ago, and I have not heard that they have started up again.

The process of making glass is a very intricate one and requires a highly skilled worker. Glass making seems to run in families, for many of the men I met there represented the third generation of the families who had made glass at Pairpont. The glass furnaces are built of brick and cement, and are cylindrical in shape, the proportions being not unlike those of a modern gas house, though necessarily much smaller. Conical shaped openings called "glory holes" hold the fire pots, and in the old days glass was slowly annealed on the brick shelves above the fire pot. The glass is melted in large pots and crucibles; the "gaffers," as the glass workers are called, dip their long iron

tubes into the red-hot liquid mass, take out a portion and, revolving it continuously on the tube, which is about four feet long, roll it on a polished iron plate to give it an even surface. Then the blower commences. He is usually a husky, sturdy man who blows out his cheeks until he looks like Old King Cole, while the ball (or bubble to be more exact) of glass swells like a soap bubble. Then a second "gaffer" slips it off on another iron rod which has been heated red hot. A pair of pincers is wetted in water and applied to the neck, which is immediately severed and drops off into a bucket of water.

When a piece of moulded glass is being made, the hinged iron mould is slipped around the red hot bubble and the blower takes it again. As he blows, the hot molten glass fills the surfaces of the mould. Then the mould is taken off and the blower's tube, or "pontil," is deftly broken away from the bottom of the piece. The resulting little roughness, or "pontil mark," is characteristic of the earlier moulded glass. On the later pieces of poured or moulded glass the bottoms are smoothly finished, with no trace of pontil mark roughness, as the tube is not used.

The piece is then set on the shelf of a cooler oven to harden. Today this process takes about five days; the quality and resistance to chipping of fine glass is due to this slow, careful cooling and hardening.

The plant, of course, started by making blown flint glass — that is, glass in which silica is the main ingredient. Silica was made in England from calcined and pulverized flints. Oxide of lead was also added to make the glass refractive and brilliant, and, contrary to previous theories, this glass is remarkably clear and sparkling in spite of the lack of barytes. This pair of decanters is a splendid sample of the earlier type. The etching is very simple and the whole product quite a bit more attractive than the later moulded kind.

The "Bohemian glass" made at East Cambridge is likely to have an orange tinge which quite definitely differentiates it from the foreign variety, but collectors are just beginning to realize that much glass of lovely coloring heretofore supposed to be Bohemian was made at the New England plant. A well-known antique dealer who has specialized on old Bohemian glass among other things for some time told me that in his opinion

fully seventy per cent of the glass sold today as antique Bohemian was made at the New England glass works in East Cambridge — and I really feel that he ought to know!

New England glass was sold all over the settled parts of the United States very early, and, as I have said before, was exported through the efforts of Edmund Munroe. He never had time to travel much himself because he had so many irons in the fire. He had great cargoes of elegant foreign merchandise, including Irish, English, French and Bohemian glass, which was sent to his glass works to be copied. Much of the moulded glass which we know to have been made at the New England shows the patterns copied and adapted from Waterford and Stourbridge. The later patterns made at Sandwich show the same influences also, as was very natural. This sugar bowl and creamer, although the shapes are frankly reminiscent of the silver "helmet" pitchers made by Cony, Revere, and others, have an unmistakable air of having been copied from the Stourbridge patterns in cutting. It is interesting to note the variation in color between these two goblets which were both made at the New England; one is crystal clear with the much-desired silvery light which is supposed to be the supreme test of "Old Sandwich," while the other has a dull lustreless color which is probably responsible for the remark heard so often that New England glass has neither sparkle nor life.

To go back to Deming Jarves — he stayed only seven years at the New England plant, for in 1825 he went to Sandwich on Cape Cod and founded the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company. Edmund Munroe and several other directors of the New England were directors of the Sandwich — which rather gives color to a theory which I heard the other day that Sandwich was founded to make so-called "kitchen glass" and protect the New England business from the cheaper competition. At first Sandwich had only one eight-pot furnace, each pot holding 800 pounds, compared with the five ten-pot furnaces at the New England, and employed but sixty hands, with a yearly product of $75,000. By 1853, however, the capital was $400,000 and there were five hundred hands, with weekly "melts" of 100,000 pounds, and nearly $600,000 worth of glass was put out annually.

The formulae which Jarves used at Sandwich contained

barytes, which he had not used at the New England. To this is laid the credit for the silvery sparkle which is often to be found in the "lace" or "snake-skin" and stippled glass patterns of early Sandwich. But the later Sandwich glass, which was made up in a great quantity to be used as advertising premiums, was very heavy and uninteresting, lacking to a noticeable degree the very qualities which makes early Sandwich so much admired at present. The yellow or "canary" color was brought to the Sandwich factory by an English workman from Bristol; but the process added so much to the cost of the glass that a much smaller quantity was made. Candlesticks, lamps, scent bottles and vases were made in this color, which must not be confused with the Victorian yellow glass which was made later in such quantity. These two sauce dishes I know to have been made at the Sandwich plant, and, as you see, they are very clear and silvery. They were traded for by an elderly relative of mine who lived in Antrim, New Hampshire, from 1860 to 1870. She traded her soup bones and soap grease with an itinerant tin peddler for them. In this connection I cannot but think of Mary E. Wilkins' hero in *An Humble Romance*. He, you remember, was an itinerant tin peddler and had his wagon filled with tin ware; brooms were tied on the side; and I am sure he must have had Sandwich glass in the box under the seat. Sandwich was distributed in this way all over New England (that is why one finds pieces in such out-of-the-way places); but after consulting every available authority I cannot find any reason to think that New England glass ever was.

Deming Jarves was the first agent of the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company and Sewall H. Fessenden his successor. Jarves's business card reads this way: "Plain moulded and cut flint glass ware in all its varieties, also all kinds of Apothecaries, Chemical and Philosophical Glass-Ware." (Philosophical glass was that used for apparatus in physics, which was then known as "natural philosophy.") On Fessenden's card we still have all sorts of glassware, including the philosophical, but brass chandeliers, japanned ware, Britannia and plate castors, patent ice pitchers, spoons, toilet sets and spittoons had been added to the stock.

"Cup plates" were first made at Sandwich, but this was not

known when pressed and moulded glass was first collected about twenty-five years ago. I think that the impression is current that Sandwich glass collecting is a vogue of the past five years; but Mr. George Francis Dow, the well-known antiquarian, told me that he arranged an exhibition of cup plates at the Essex Institute nearly twenty years ago. He remembers when the late Edwin A. Barber of the Pennsylvania Museum of Industrial Art came here. He then bought cup plates for ten cents each. At that time it was believed that cup plates were made in England. Sets of china dishes used to come with the china cup plates to match, but the pressed glass ones became so popular because they were made in patriotic and historic American designs.

Barber wrote the first book on American glassware. It was a tiny volume, published in 1900, but it is still the authority as far as it goes. It, however, does not mention either the New England or the Sandwich plants, although it is generally thought that Barber was responsible for the revival of Sandwich a bit later. He says that "cup plates were pressed in metal moulds by means of a plunger — it is believed that they were made in England and we have no knowledge that pressed glass designs were produced so early in this country." Perhaps I am a bit prejudiced, but it hardly seems logical to me that even a shrewd British manufacturer could have brought himself to make cup plates resplendent with the American eagle, Bunker Hill, the thirteen stars, and allusions to the defeat of the English in America so soon after the war of 1812. But this evidently did not occur to Mr. Barber. Of course, we now know that these pressed glass plates were all made at Sandwich, and, judging by present prices, they will soon be invaluable.

For the past five years all the moulded glass I have seen in antique shops has been without a doubt "Early Sandwich"; and I think it is not much of an exaggeration to say that *tons* of moulded glass have been sold as Sandwich. That taunt, so familiar to all collectors of glass, "Is it Woolworth period?" really has a foundation of fact; for in the early days of the Woolworth stores Sandwich glass was sold in them, although perhaps not to the wide degree that it is today.

While we are still speaking of Sandwich glass, I have here

something which gives a vivid picture of Jarves's high ideals of glass making. It is the certificate of a regularly indentured apprentice (a "gaffer's sheepskin," so to speak), and it tells that one Edward Talbot is a regular indentured apprentice of the B. & S. Glass Co., having served through his apprenticeship with fidelity to the company and correct deportment to the superintendent of the factory. Then there is a ménu of a dinner for the directors of the Sandwich plant, given at Boston's fashionable hotel, the Revere House. It lists all the good things which they had to eat, and then concludes in conspicuous capitals with the phrase, ORNAMENTS AND FLOWERS!

Now think for a minute of the two plants: one started in 1818 and ran until 1888 — seventy years of production on a large scale with a nation-wide distribution; the other started in 1825 and was in business until about 1888. Though it grew rapidly it never attained the prestige, volume or quality of the older factory. It made some colored glass, as recent prices for canary-colored dolphin candlesticks will eloquently testify, but nothing to compare with the engraved, cut and silvered products from East Cambridge.

In the *Columbian Centinel* of October 12, 1825, the advertisements of the two firms are found side by side. New England advertises its own — South Boston, Crown and Chelmsford window glass, entry lamps, the fashionable new astral lamps, and sconces with cut glass founts. Jarves, however, being but just started, is appealing for orders for any article to be made in flint glass. You will note that this is under his own name, evidently before the formation of the "B. & S." Glass Company.

The New England Glass Company flourished in East Cambridge until the eighteen seventies, when the business slumped; but a "gaffer" from England who had had much experience in colored glass came to the factory and business picked up again. This green glass pitcher is a sample of the work done at that time. This square brown dish is a "horrible example" of the earlier work, and as you look at it, you will not wonder that such glass was harder to sell than some of our earlier exhibits. This purple vase is a very rare color for New England but it was loaned to us by a lady whose father bought it at the factory.

Strange as it may seem, there is almost no printed informa-

tion anywhere on New England glass, except these clippings from *Gleason's Pictorial*. Until about a month ago, I never heard of New England glass. Mr. Arthur Hayward of the *Transcript*, in his book on *Colonial Lighting*, has about four pages on it. He shows a rare handbill of the works in the eighties, when the Munroe family had sold out their interests to Mr. W. L. Libbey, who had long been employed there. It advertises particularly the lamps and railroad lanterns. This rather large whale oil lamp is of very pleasing design but the glass shows a distinctly bluish color. Mrs. N. Hudson Moore in her new book on *Glass, American and European*, notes that Deming Jarves while at the New England plant invented the glass furnace, but she does not state that the real power behind the factory was Edmund Munroe, who financed the enterprise and made it possible. His descendants recall the interest of the family in the Sandwich plant also; so that it is not at all unlikely that the far-seeing Edmund Munroe, sensing the call for moulded glass among the people who could not afford cut glass, encouraged Mr. Jarves to found the new plant for this reason.

I should like to emphasize one statement that Mr. Hayward makes in *Colonial Lighting*, namely, that no one can tell the difference between New England glass and Sandwich, although Sandwich is reputed to have a better color. There are enough authentic pieces of New England glass owned in Cambridge (they were recently shown at an exhibition held by the Cambridge Historical Society) to quite disprove the contention that all New England glass is dull and heavy looking. But the patterns made by the two companies were very similar — particularly lamps — and often identical, as was perfectly natural when one realizes that the same group of men had the running of both factories for quite a long period.

When the New England Glass Company was sold and moved to Ohio in 1888, the new owner was Mr. Libbey, who had long been employed at the plant. He stressed the new cut glass which was just coming into vogue, and his product later became internationally famous for its beauty and fine quality as "Libbey cut glass."

The only manufacturing glass works now remaining in Cambridge is that of P. J. McElroy on Second Street, and that makes

bottles — not the collectible, and ofttimes fragrant type of bottles which, I am told, bring back joyous memories. These are pharmaceutical and apothecaries' bottles; they have only this in common with the other type — they, too, are now filled *by prescription only.*

LIEUTENANT GEORGE INMAN[1]

By Mrs. S. M. Gozzaldi

Read 26 October, 1926

In 1906, when I was collecting material for the *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, Mr. W. C. Lane told me that in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, No. 3, Vol. VII, there was a portrait of George Inman. I immediately looked it up and found that it was accompanied by his narrative of the American Revolution, contributed by one of his descendants, who owned his journal, Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn, who promised to print further extracts from the journal. None were ever printed and I went to the Historical Society to enquire why. I learned that Mr. Hildeburn had died, and that probably his widow had the

[1] Child of Joseph Lewis and Mary Ann Riché (Inman) Cunningham.

George Inman Cunningham, d. New York, 28 February 1865, m. Mary Bradley Winchester of Boston, 23 March 1843, b. 1823, d. 1899. They had one child, Mary Winchester Cunningham, b. 21 April 1849, d. Pepin, Wis., 1871, m. Joseph Tilden Barnard, 21 April 1870, son of George Middleton and Susan Livingston (Tilden) Barnard. One child, Mary Winchester Barnard, b. Pepin, Wis., 29 January 1871, m. Frances Gardner Curtis of Boston, 3 April 1813.

Children of Thomas Ferguson and Susanna Linzee (Inman) Livingston.

James Crauford Livingston, b. 17 January 1812, d. unm. New York, 8 November 1839.

Emma Maria Stevens Livingston, b. 1 May 1814, m. John Cornelius Bibby, son of Gouvernour Bibby, 27 June 1839. Had four children.

Walter Ferguson Livingston, b. 23 May 1815, d. unm. Bristol, Pa., 10 March 1877.

Margaretta Susan Livingston, b. 5 April 1817, d. 30 December 1882, m. George Duncan Cooper. Two children.

Albert Henry Livingston, b. 10 March 1818, m. Frances Edna Culpepper of Demerara, d. s. p. 23 November 1893.

Theodore Livingston, d. in infancy.

Althea Linzee Livingston, 23 August 1820, m. Isaac Guest Cadwalader. Six children.

George Eugene Livingston, b. 21 January 1822, d. 26 October 1826.

Louisa Matilda Livingston, b. 23 June 1823, m. Anthony Kennedy Joyce, d. Jenkintown, Pa., 12 August 1890. Twelve children.

Oscar Frederick Livingston, b. 2 December 1824, m. (1) Emma (Baldwin) Ferris, m. (2) Leta Nichols.

Children of William and Hannah Rowe (Inman) Tilden.

Mary Augusta Tilden, b. Boston, 1 April 1810, d. Baltimore, Md., 17 January 1864, m. Algernon Sydney Chase of New York. Nine children.

journal. At that time she was in Europe and I could get no definite information about it. The next time I was in Philadelphia I made an attempt to see the journal, but it was stored and I could not get it. Finally in 1915 I saw it and in June of that year the Cambridge Historical Society bought the five vellum-bound volumes that I have here, with an account book of Lieutenant Inman, from Mrs. Hildeburn.

George Inman was born in Boston in 1755, so that he was only a year old when his father, Ralph Inman, bought one hundred and eighty acres of land in what is now Cambridgeport and built the house which was removed to make way for the present City Hall in 1889. This house had not the handsome exterior or architectural features of the other colonial houses of this date. It was a long rambling house of three stories with pitched roof and a piazza toward the road. In his *Old Landmarks of Middlesex*, Samuel A. Drake gives a pleasant description of it. The rooms were low studded but spacious, there were the usual deep fireplaces, cupboards and closets and doubtless good paneling.

Louisa Riché Tilden, b. Boston, 11 November 1811, d. 10 April 1899, m. John Templeman Coolidge, 19 July 1831. Two children.

William Tilden, b. Boston, 5 January 1812, d. Calcutta, 30 April 1890, m. Amelia Jane Smith in Calcutta. Three children.

Susan Livingston Tilden, b. Philadelphia, Pa., 3 August 1815, d. Mattapoisett, 25 November 1891, m. George Middleton Barnard, Boston, 1 January 1835. Five children.

Sarah Tilden, b. near Philadelphia, Pa., 1 February 1817, d. Pau, France, 30 November 1906, m. Rev. Henry Burroughs, Jr., Boston, 18 December 1838. Three children.

Children of Charles Swift and Sarah Coombe (Inman) Riché.

Juliana Riché, b. 16 February 1815, d. unm. Philadelphia, Pa., 18 September 1827.

Mary Grace Riché, b. Bucks Co., Pa., 11 September 1816, d. unm. Philadelphia, Pa., 13 February 1862.

Sarah Cordelia Riché, b. Burlington, N. J., 21 June 1818, m. Philadelphia, Pa., 10 November 1858, Austin James Montgomery, d. s. p. 25 January 1884.

Rosa Livingston Riché, b. Penn's Manor, Pa., 7 August 1820, d. 29 October 1829.

Rosina Margaretta Riché, b. Penn's Manor, Pa., 16 September 1822, d. 5 July 1854, m. Philadelphia, Pa., Joseph Emlin Howell Hildeburn, 17 June 1854. Two children.

Susan Inman Riché, b. Penn's Manor, Pa., d. in infancy.

Thomas Redmon Riché, b. Bristol, Pa., 25 August 1827, d. unm. Philadelphia, Pa., 19 December 1861.

Charles Swift Riché, b. Bristol, Pa., 29 October 1829, d. 4 July 1835.

George Inman Riché, b. Philadelphia, Pa., 21 January 1823, d. Chicago, Ill., 5 August 1909, m. Elizabeth Ramsay Wetherell, 21 October 1863. Two children.

For later generations see *Descendants of William Speakman* by John W. Linzee, and the *Kollock Genealogy* by Edwin Jaquette Sellars.

The grounds were handsomely laid out in the style of the period, with fine trees and shrubs. There was a pond surrounded with willows, and the roads through the place were shaded by locust trees.

Ralph Inman married, in Boston, Susannah Speakman, daughter of William Speakman, November 2, 1746. Her twin sister, Hannah Speakman, had married the Boston merchant, John Rowe, from whom Rowe's Wharf took its name, three years earlier. Trinity Church records show that five children of Ralph and Susannah Inman were baptized there between the years 1747 and 1759, three named Ralph, Hannah, the eldest, and John; these all died in infancy. March 27, 1754, Susannah was baptized and a year later George. Then came a second Hannah, who must have died young, and Sarah, baptized May 12, 1759. In July, 1761, Mrs. Inman died, leaving three children, Susannah, George and Sarah.

Ralph Inman married secondly a remarkable woman, Elizabeth Murray, sister of James Murray, loyalist. Her first husband was Thomas Campbell, a Scotch trader and merchant who commanded a ship plying between Boston and Cape Fear. After his death she married a man much older than herself, James Smith, who owned the sugar bakery on Brattle Street, Boston, and had amassed a fortune of thirty thousand pounds. He was seventy years old when she married him in 1760 and he only lived nine years, leaving her his beautiful estate at Brush Hill, Milton, and much other property. After his death she visited her relatives in Scotland; less than two years later she was back in Boston. The Smiths were friends of the Rowes and we find this entry in the diary of John Rowe:

"July 22nd. 1771. I dined at home with Captain Fenton, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Rowe, George and Sukey Inman and Anthony Lechmere, after dinner Mr. Inman introduced his design to Mrs. Smith."

On September 25, 1771, Ralph Inman and Elizabeth Smith were married by Reverend Mr. Caner at the residence of Ezekial Goldthwait.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Murray) Inman was a very suitable mistress for the Cambridge home. She was a devoted stepmother to the children, who loved her to the end of her life. Letters from

Sukey to her, written after her marriage, show the tie that existed between them. The Rowes had no children and were fond of their nieces and nephew. Susannah was at their home for long visits. She had her spinet there, and the youth of the English families attended her musicals and dined with the family. The officers in the British army and navy were frequent visitors.

In Cambridge, as they grew older, Susannah and George were intimate with the families of "Tory Row." Their father was the first treasurer of Christ Church, and I like to picture George handing the old ladies out of their chariots on Sunday mornings, standing in his father's square pew singing to the tones of the fine organ, or listening to the discourse of Reverend East Apthorp or Reverend Winwood Sargeant. On week days joining in the routs and picnics of the gay West Indians, who the Baroness Von Riedesel wrote "thought of nothing but music, dancing and diversion."

George received the training of a rich young man of his time. In 1770 Mr. Curtis, a Frenchman, taught him French and dancing. He attended Harvard College, and years afterwards Lieutenant Inman met Mr. Curtis in Dublin and had him to breakfast with him, and also renewed his acquaintance with Mr. Brown who was in college with him and who was teaching at Trinity College, Dublin. His Uncle John Rowe has preserved for us the festivities of his graduation; in his diary he records:

"July 10th. 1772. I went early to Mr. Inman's, who made the genteelest entertainment I ever saw on acct. of his son George taking his degree yesterday — he had three hundred and forty-seven Gentlemen and Ladies dined. Two hundred and ten at one table.— amongst the Company the Governor & Family, the Lieutenant & Family, the Admiral & Family & all the Remainder Gentlemen & Ladies of character and reputation. The whole was conducted with much ease and pleasure all joined in making each other Happy.— such an entertainment has not been made in New England on any occasion. I came to Town, say Cambridge, went to the Ball at the Town House where most of the Company went to dance — they were all very happy and cheerful & the whole was conducted to the

General Satisfaction of all present. I returned to Mr. Inman's & slept there."

The following September George Inman entered the office of Herman and Andrew Brimmer. He lived with his Uncle Rowe, who often mentions him in his diary.

Among the many officers whom Susannah Inman met at her Uncle Rowe's she was particularly attracted to Captain John Linzee, of the British navy. Her father and aunt did not approve of this acquaintance and in an intimate note to her friend Lucy Flucker, later the wife of General Knox, which has been preserved, she tells how they tried to prevent her from meeting him. However, all ended happily, for we read in Uncle Rowe's diary:

"August 14th. 1772. Captain Linzee arrived with the Beaver, Man of Warr from Rhode Island. Captain Linzee came ashore to pay us a visit who staid the afternoon and spent the evening with Mrs. Rowe myself and Sukey." The next day he writes, "Sukey Inman went to Cambridge with her father and mother and Captain Linzee." Another grand entertainment took place at the Inman House, for he records:

"September 1st. 1772. I went to Mr. Inman's to see my Dear Sukey Inman married to Captain John Linzee, the Rev. Mr. Walter performed the ceremony." He gives a list of the guests who were present beginning with Admiral & Mrs. Montague. The next day he gave a letter to Captain Linzee "With Order to draw on me every New Years Day Twenty pounds sterling." On the 8th he notes: "Captain Linzee sailed this forenoon & carried my Dear Sukey with him. I wish them happy together, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, George and Sally went down in the Beaver as far as the Light House with Captain & Mrs. Linzee & took leave of them; 'tis a fair wind."

This is almost the last mention of Sally, for a year from that time she, aged fourteen, died in Cambridge of an ulcerated sore throat. The tie between Mrs. Linzee and George was a very close one. He wrote constantly to her and sometimes they met. When she was not accompanying her husband on his voyages she lived principally at Portsmouth. She had nine children and from her are descended many well-known Boston people. Mr. Rowe records the return of the Linzees on April 16, 1775, with

an infant son, Samuel Hood Linzee, just in time to witness the beginning of the Revolution. "When the troops were returning from the fight at Concord Captain Linzee was ordered up the Charles River in a small armed cruiser to bring them to Boston, but Lord Percy and general Smith thought proper to encamp at Bunker Hill that night. The next night some two hundred men attacked Captain Linzee in his armed schooner a little below Cambridge Bridge, he gave them a warm welcome so they thought best to retreat with the loss of some men." Mrs. Linzee and her child visited the Rowes and probably Mr. Inman had gone to town to see them and was shut up in Boston, Mrs. Inman being left at the Cambridge house.

Now came the turning point in George Inman's life. It was not surprising that he took part with the mother country. His father was English and he had been brought up with those that were now to be termed Tories. This is the account he gives of his action in the journal:

"Fryday June 17th. 1785. Just ten years since the Battle of Bunker's Hill, near Boston, America. In that memorable action I first took upon myself the Name of a Soldier, contrary to the wishes of My Father and Friends in that Country, as I acted in fav. of Government & joined His Majesty's forces in that action as a Volunteer under Sir Wm. Howe, who commanded the attack with about 2000 men, out of which number near eleven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates were killed or wounded and about eighty officers, the loss of the Rebells very inconsiderable only about 100 found dead in the Field, among them was General Warren, who commanded the First Redoubt (late a Surgeon in Boston) & about 30 taken prisoners and confined in Boston Gaol. Charlestown was consumed to ashes owing to the Rebells firing from their Houses on the British forces, who made the attack under many disadvantages — the grass being high impeded their March, the day Hott & the Rebells Strongly Intrenched, line within line & in short it was a gallant action wh. could not have been affected by any other than British Troops."

The first volume of the journal is retrospective and gives his life in the British army in America. It was written in February 1782 when he was staying with his uncle, Reverend George Inman, at Burrington, Somersetshire, and was continued by

almost daily entries until just before his death. It begins as follows:

"When the disturbances Commenced at Boston in America that finally terminated in its independence of Brittain, i entered as Volunteer in the service of the Parent Country, contrary to the wishes of my Connections and friends, and in December 1775 attached myself to the Light Company of the 4th. or King's Own Regiment commanded by my Friend Capt. Evelyn. January 1776 Capt. Evelyn and myself embarked on board the Falcon, ship of war commanded by my Brother-in-Law Capt. Linzee, under orders to attend Sir Henry Clinton in an expedition to the Southward."

In February they arrived at Cape Fear. Other ships with regiments on board joined them and they made excursions on shore to obtain provisions which they found scarce; they "lived on Sour Crout and salt pork until the whole fleet proceeded to New Jersey in July." August first they landed at Staten Island.

"On the 23rd. the whole army under Sir William Howe embarked in flatt Boats, crossed ye Narrows and made a landing at New Utrecht, and on the 27th. in the morning abt. 2 O'clock I with a few men being posted at a Cross Road intercepted and took an American Patrol of Horse composed of five officers belonging to the New York Battalion, after delivering them up to Colonel Maxwell, who commanded the Rear Guard, I joined the Company with my party about nine, where they were warmly engaged till near noon, when the Enemy retired to their works losing many men. I rec'd no other injury than a contusion on my knee-pan, wh. for the time was very painfull, a musket shot through my hat and another through my trousers near the hip."

This was his first experience as a commander. It is said that the taking of this patrol caused the Americans to lose the Battle of Long Island. The journal goes on:

"The Americans two days after retired to New York, after reducing the fort at Hell Gate on the 15th. Sept., we effected our landing on York Island with little or no loss and that Even'g a Brigade took possession of the City, we advanced to Magoing's Pass and the Enemy retired to the works that surrounded Fort Washington. The next day the 3rd Lt. Infantry under Major Johnson of the 28th. advancing too near the enemy's lines they

came down in force wh. nearly b't on a General engagement, in a few days after, Sir Wm. Howe presented me with a pair of Colors [that is, made him an ensign] in the 17th Regt. dated the day of the action on Long Island Wch. Reg't I soon after joined. In October part of the Army embarked near Hell Gate and proceeded to New Rochelle near wch. my good and gallant friend Capt. Evelyn received his mortal wound he being carried to New York, and after suffering Amputation soon expired, to the great regret of all who knew him as a soldier and a friend.

"The beginning of Novr. was at the Reduction of Fort Washington soon after crossed the North River to Fort Lee wch. was also reduced and proceeded through the Jerseys to Trenton, meeting with little or no opposition, the beginning of Decr we left Trenton for our own cantonments at Hillsborough and 2 Brigades of Hessian Troops under Col. Rall marched in to be Quartered there, we Enjoy'd our Winter Quarters but a few days, when Gen'l Washington, having crossed the Delaware, came suddenly on Rall's Brigade at Trenton the 24th Decr, and Captured Killed and dispersed the whole, the British Army was oblged to quit their Quarters and assembled at Prince Town the Americans still remaining at Trenton and daily receiving from their late success large reinforcements. The Season of the Year being severe, snow on the ground and for Nights having no other Bed than hard frozen Earth or Ice and no other covering than a cloak oftentimes induced me to Reflect on past times when I used to sleep in soft downy Beds and with every comfortable necessary around me, amongst them friends whom I left, and wch, perhaps if I had remained might still have enjoy'd.

"The advance of the Army having proceeded to Trenton we were ordered on the 3rd january 1777 from Prince Town as an Escort to Stores and at sunrise a large Body of the Enemy were discovered on our left wch Col. Mayhood immediately determined to attack, we having the 55th and a party of convalescents with a few of the 17th Dragoons, the enemy proved too powerful for us, the 55th giving way and retired to Prince Town, where the 40th reg't were posted and both Reg't quitted that Town retiring before the Enemy to Brunswick; we Attacked their Centre Column and drove them to their main body, but,

they rallying we were obliged to retire, after making such an exertion as we were able to proceed to our Army then lying at Maidenhead. We suffered much, out of 224 Rank and file that marched off the Parade at 5 o'Clock that Morning we sustained a Loss of 101 Rank and file, Killed and wounded and much the greater part by the first fire received, I being the only Officer in the Right wing of the Battalion that was not very much injured, receiving only a Buck shot through my Cross Belt wch. just entered the pit of my Stomach and made me sick for the moment. We had a very severe march that day and all the following night, passing over the field of Action abt 4 o'clock that afternoon through Prince Town and with the whole Army to Brunswick where we got on the 4th abt nine in the Morning. After halting one day to refresh ourselves we proceeded to Amboy where we remained the Winter, but found it irksome and unpleasant Quarters being out almost every day wch harrass'd the Garrison much.

"In April about the 23rd we took the Field, encamped in Front of the lines and in May made an excursion to Hillsborough, but finding Genl Washington strongly posted on Morris's Heights, the whole Army retired to Amboy, quitting Brunswick and those places we had occupied during the Winter, and in June entirely quitted the Jerseys, crossed over to Staten Island and in a few days embarked on board Transports, and sailed for the Chesapeak, Virginia, and landed the 25th August following at the Head of Elk in that Bay, near George Town, Maryland, and after a few skirmishes at Iron Hill &c. we crossed the Forks of the Brandywine on the 11th of Sept, turned the Right Flank of the Enemy, engaged and totally defeated them — began the attack after 4 in the afternoon and before nine were able to sit down and refresh ourselves with some cold Pork and Grogg, on the Ground the Enemy had first posted themselves, which we enjoyed much as our march before the attack was better than 18 miles. After remaining on the ground a few days we proceeded to the White Horse near Valley forge where there was a large store of flour &c., and near that place fell in with Genl. Waine's Brigade wch was cut to pieces. Here I found Thomas Randall (who formerly lived with Mr. Gould) badly wounded with Bayonets, he being a Capt. of Artillery in the American

Army then attached to Wain's Brigade. We soon after forded the Schukill and the Army formed a line at German Town abt Eight or Nine miles from Philadelphia, wch the two Battalions of British Grenadiers took Possession of without any opposition. On the 4th October the Enemy made a heavy attack on the 2nd Light Infantry and Pickets on the Right of the line, wch obliged us to retire without effecting anything more than putting us in some hurry and confusion for the time and we pursued them several miles. I being on Picket had several of my men killed and wounded before I was ordered in. The Army shortly withdrew to Philadelphia and took up their quarters for the winter forming strong lines from the Schulkill to the Delaware, and in these Quarters they made up for the severity of the last Winter though we often made excursions — to Mansfield, Edghill, and one about Christmas to Darby where we remained for a fortnight procuring forage &c.— and during these excursions we frequently fell in with parties of the Enemy and had some severe skirmishes, particularly at Mansfield, but we could not draw Genl. Washington from his Entrenchments. This year was fatal to Burgoyne at Saratoga.

"Nothing material occurred in the months of Jan'y Feb'y or March 1778 except frequent excursions in the Jerseys and other places to destroy stores and provide provisions and Forage, and one in particular under Col. Mawhood to Salem in the Jerseys, were several poor Quakers were unintentionally killed, we remained there and in its neighborhood near three weeks and then returned to Philadelphia were I was forming an attachment and was married on St. George's Day the 23rd April. Col. Mawhood having been appointed Aid-de-Camp to the King left us about this time for England and in May Sir Wm. Howe took his departure leaving the Command to Sir Henry Clinton who came from New York for that purpose. On our preparing to quit Philadelphia I procured a Passage for my wife in the "Sukey" (a Brig of my Uncle's) Capt. Brown, for New York, but on being detained in the River, was, owing to her excessive sickness, obliged to send for her, and on the 16th June we evacuated the City, crossed Cooper's ferry, and I had a Coach for the convenience of my wife, my man servant and his wife who was also my servant, attended her, as I could not be so

much with her as I could have wished. We proceeded through Mount Holly and met with very little obstruction from the Enemy, excepting that of their destroying the Bridges we were to pass and filling up the wells that we might not get water — until we came to Monmouth on whose Heights we took Post on the 26th abt. noon, and finding that the Americans intended an attack we halted the 27th, the Enemy in parties making their appearance at every avenue in front of our advance posts, and picked up many of our straglers and among the number a Mr. Nesbitt, a Lieut. in our Regt. but he was no great loss to us or an acquisition to them.

"About one o'clock in the morning of the 28th Genl. Knyphausen took charge of the baggage and stores of the Army and proceeded towards the Neversinks near Sandy Hook, and for the better security of my wife I sent her on with line of Baggage the Army began to quit the heights about 6 o'clock and when we had marched about three miles the Enemy advanced, attacked our Rear; we faced about and formed the line and drove them as we advanced and when the main Body of Americans came up they took a very advantageous post on those heights we had occupied but did not think proper to engage."

Seven years after Lieutenant Inman gives a more detailed account of this battle: "Tuesday 20th June 1785. This day Seven Years Memorable for the action at Monmouth, Jerseys, America, when near 60 of the British Soldiers fell dead in the Ranks with Heat & fatigue & many of the Rabells — The Action began abt. ten in the Morning & continued with various success, Marching, Countermarching & manouvering during most of the day — wh was excessive Hott — no water to be got — the Rebells having in their march filled up all the Wells. The Baggage being attacked by a part of the Rebells in a thick wood about 5 miles from where I was engaged — Mrs. Inman being in a Coach in the line of Baggage & that part that was attacked, very narrowly escaped being Shott — a horse directly in the Rear of the Carriage was killed — & two women by the side of it. but my Dr. Mrs. Inman — thank God Was preserved & after suffering as much as any person could, what from fatigue, & anxiety for my safety — got to the Halting Ground abt. one o'Clock the following Morning & remained in

the Coach till nine when I came up and pitched a tent for her & getting some Breakfast restored her drooping Spirits.—we proceeded to Sandy Hook the following Even'g & in a few days after arrived safe at New York to the great satisfaction of both, about the 5th of July and soon after met with Capt. and Mrs. Linzee. Sir Henry Clinton appointed me a Lieutenant in the 26th Regt. then encamped at Laurel Hill near Fort Knyphausen, dated the day of engagement at Monmouth. I took lodgings for my wife at Bloomingdale near her Aunt Leake's and after an excursion to the White Plains was taken ill with a fever and ague and soon after my wife and two servants, so that we were greatly distressed.

"About this time we received accounts from Philadelphia of the death of Mrs. Coombe my wife's only sister. In November we took Quarters in New York at one Whiston's formerly of Boston. The ague still continuing in me after Christmas I took lodging at Mrs. Spellings at half a joe a week for the more convenience of my wife and her Mother who we expected from Philadelphia, about this time the Regt was ordered to Staten Island and to remain in hutts made by themselves for the Winter. In October or the beginning of November my Father and Mrs. Inman with Miss Murray came from Boston to Rhode Island to see Capt. and Mrs. Linzee who were stationed there, he being in command of the Pearl Frigate, and after remaining a few days returned to Boston, should liked to have been of the party but from [my] situation and illness, was prevented; Linzee soon after was sent to the West Indies.

"In January 1779 Mrs. Badger my Wife's Mother, came from Philadelphia to stay with us, on the 26th in the Evening my wife was safely put to bed of a little Boy, whom I called Ralph after my Father. I soon after obtained from the Commandment a house for the convenience of my family and in March I went to Staten Island to join the Regt having recovered of the ague, leaving my Wife in Town, after remaining a few weeks at the Hutts I was removed to the Command of Major André's Company at Dukers ferry, where I found it more comfortable, having fitted up a room for the reception of my wife, who spent part of her time with me, and part with her Mother in Town. I remained in this situation until September when the Regiment

was ordered to be drafted and the officers sent to England, but owing to the French Fleet being on the Coast, though the Regt was drafted early in Sept. yet they were not able to embark till about the 20th December. In the intermediate time, the 20th Sept. we, to our great grief, lost our sweet infant he was interred in the Vault of John Leake Esq. Trinity Church Yard, a few days after I obtained leave to go to Rhode Island, to procure an interview with my Father and accordingly we embarked in a Cork Victualler for that Port, but to our great mortification found that the evacuation was so soon to take place that I was disappointed and returned again to New York in a Transport with the Fleet on ye Evacuation. I notwithstanding obtained a flag of Truce and sailed for Rhode Island again in Novr. leaving my wife with her Mother and the interview I had with my Father was short and by no means satisfactory, after being tossed about in that Harbour for more than three weeks and twice very near being lost not being allowed to go on shore I left the Harbour and arrived at New York the 17th Decr, and then finding the fleet shortly to sail for England had but little time to prepare for the Passage not choosing to go in the transport that was alloted, and on the 21st embarked with my wife on board a merchantman, ourselves the only passengers, leaving my wife's good mother behind. The parting very much affected us, but yet it was unavoidable. The 23rd we sailed from Sandy Hook — near two hundred sail under convoy of several frigates, but Christmas eve a most violent gale came on, which dispersed the fleet. About four days after we collected about twenty-eight sail, and that night a second storm attacked us, and we for eight weeks did not meet but with two of the fleet, and them we met separately. In short the whole of the passage was a continued storm. We arrived to our great joy about the middle of February at Portsmouth and found that many of the fleet had foundered, and that the transport that was alloted for me was also wrecked on the North West coast of Ireland, after being buffeted about without candles for the binnacles for near four weeks after our arrival in February 1780. We remained at Portsmouth three days, and Sir Samuel Hood who was then Commissioner of the Dock Yard (now Lord Hood) sent for us as soon as he knew of our arrival. We spent

part of a day at his house, and the next morning I set off in a postchaise for London, but paying the post boys well was soon hurled [?] to Kingston, twelve miles from town, dined there and lodged, not choosing to go into town the latter part of the day. Next morning about eleven we put up at the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, and a son of Lady Hood's to whom she had wrote, called on us and procured us lodgings in Adam Street, Adelphi. Many Americans called on us. We remained in town three weeks and then set off for Bristol, where I was ordered by Colonel Stuart to recruit. We went to Burrington to see my uncle who proposed us to make his house our home, which kind invitation we most readily accepted. My party came to Bristol in April and were successful in recruiting. In August we went to Mrs. Brown's, Trinity Street, to board and lodge for a month and in September made an excursion in a one horse chaise to Watchett in Somersetshire, to see a son of my uncle who was married there, taking my wife and Miss Inman with me, and my servant, Gibson on horseback. We staid there near a fortnight. On our return to Bristol I took lodgings and remained in town at different lodgings without anything material happening till after Christmas. I cannot forbear mentioning that a family by the name of Freeman at Clifton near Bristol were particularly kind and attentive to me and mine. The old gentleman was a correspondent of my father's concerned in the copper business. Their attention to us will ever demand our grateful acknowledgement. We met with many American Families that were settled here, some of the most intimate were: Thomas Oliver, John Vassall, Lechmere, Sewell, Bob Holbrook, Nat Coffin, who died soon after, Mrs. Borland, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Fennel, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Coulson, and Mrs. Merchant, our friend Betsy Davis who resided with her aunt Mrs. Vassall. But [with] some of these by some means or other, a coolness took place, after which my visits to them were more out of form than friendship. In the month of May we received the disagreeable account of the death of my dear Mary's mother, who died at New York about the time of our arriving in Portsmouth Harbour, we then being at our good uncle's. He gave her every consolation that her distressed situation required. In August of this year R. Temple arrived at Bristol in a flag of truce from

Boston with his family, whom I saw and spent an evening with at the White Lyon. Soon after our coming to Burrington Captain and Mrs. Linzee with their little Susan, and Nanny the servant, gave us the meeting at the parsonage, and we spent a few weeks very pleasantly, sometimes at Bath, and sometimes at Bristol. Harry a son of my uncle's who was in the Navy being at home at that time, made one of the party. The day after Christmas I sent off my servant Gibson to join the regiment; being at Shrewsbury with a number of recruits. My taking lodgings in Bristol was contrary to the wishes of my good uncle, but having so many old acquaintance in the military line recruiting there, I could not be prevailed on to remain in the country. nothing more material happened to me during this year (1780) excepting frequent offers to purchase a company at the regulated price, which I was under the mortifying necessity of declining.

"In January 1781 I took a small furnished house at Clifton opposite my good and worthy friend Mr. Freeman, who wished me to be as near him as possible, Miss Inman being with us as much as our good uncle could spare her. Nothing material occured the months of February or March, excepting my being much distressed for a very necessary article which Mr. Freeman was kind enough to assist me with. The fourth of April about eleven in the morning my Mary was safely put to bed of a little boy. Mr. Freeman offering to stand Godfather, and his daughter Mrs. Blissett, Godmother. I could do no less than name him John Freeman after the old gentleman, as a small acknowledgement for the many favours he had conferred on me. My uncle being the other Godfather. His birth was registered in the Parish Church of Clifton and at Burrington. My Mary by some means caught a cold which brought on the rheumatism in her legs that she was not able to walk for months after. In May we again removed to my uncle's at Burrington, taking a young woman by name Sarah Davis, to attend my wife and child. The change was recommended to Mrs. Inman, however she from that period till August was quite confined, and the first part of the time to her bed and obliged to be lifted out and in. Our little fellow being very well, and a pretty boy. About the 20th September I took my wife, Free, and the maid in a

chaise to Plymouth. We stopped a few days at the London Tavern, Exeter, to see our old friend Mrs. Borland who resided in the city. We dined with her, etc. On our getting to Plymouth our dear sister Mrs. Linzee and her little ones were happy to see us. Captain Linzee being in the West Indies, having the command of the Santa Monica Frigate of 36 guns.

"In this place we remained until 4th December, spending our time very pleasantly. I met here a number of acquaintance in the military and naval line, dined frequently with the regiments that were encamped at Maker Tower, and with General Gray (now Sir Charles Gray). On the 4th. December took our departure for Bristol, staid a week at Exeter on our return, our little Freeman not very well having a breaking out on his face. We stopped at my uncle's who insisted on our staying with him a little while, with which from prudent reasons we readily complied. While at Plymouth, the news arrived of the fate of Lord Cornwallis and the troops at Yorktown, Virginia. After a visit to our friend Mr. Freeman, we returned to our uncle's and spent the Christmas, and commenced the new year, 1782, with him. Nothing of any consequence occurring during the month of January, and in the month of February I commenced a kind of Journal which have continued ever since, making a memorandum of anything particular happening to any part of my family, which may on some future day find amusement in having recourse to, and many misfortunes and disagreeable occurences I shall find therein. But it has pleased the Almighty Dispenser of events to have thus far given me resolution and firmness to go through, and pray God will still give me sufficient grace to withstand the like misfortunes, that I may have to encounter with hereafter with the same fortitude. God's name be praised."

The first entry in the new journal is: —

"Fryday 1st Feb'y. 1782. A fine days pent at home — in the Evening went to the Wrington Assembly with Mrs. & Miss Inman, a very small company only five Ladys — danced two dances with my Cousin, play'd a Rubber and a single game of Whist, Won ten shillings — returned home at one O'clock.

"Fryday being a Fast day 8th Feb'y Frosty but cloudy sent William to Bristol — brought letters to my Uncle — one of

them from my Father with a Hundred pounds on Lane & Son for me . . . went to church in the afternoon much pleased with the timely remittance."

He goes to Wrington and Bristol, has tea and plays cards with various people. Although he often mentions playing cards, he only once speaks of playing for money.

"Monday 17th. A most delightful Morning. Sent William to Bristol Rec'd the first intelligence of my Father's coming to England.

"Monday 25th. Road to Bristol in order to purchase furniture for my House."

He goes to the play that evening and the next two nights to see the rope dancing at Cooper's Hall. On Thursday he had his furniture fixed in the different rooms and

"Fryday 1st March. Arose very early went to Burrington in Thrall's chaise. Bro't Mrs. Inman to Town afer dinner. Very much fatigued putting our things in order.

"Saturday 2nd. A fine day employed the whole of it in fixing up our House, wh. we now begin to find very comfortable."

Their home was now among the loyalists at Bristol or across the river at Clifton. They dine, take tea, or sup with the old Cambridge friends, with Mr. and Mrs. Barnes of Marlboro and the Freemans, or else entertain them at the new house. Every day the state of the weather and the direction of the wind is recorded. Lieutenant Inman goes to walk with friends to the Wells, or on the downs, or to the College Green, or to the Coffee House to read the news. They put up an extra bed and their cousin Miss Sally Inman, from Burrington, comes to stay with them.

"Monday May 20th. Illuminated on Acct of the Victory of Sir G. Rodney over the French in the West Indies.

"Monday May 27th. Went to the Coffee House and heard that Sir Sam'l Hood had taken two more sail of the Line and a frigate. Dined at home and went to the Half Play." He often speaks of going to the half play. Another evening he goes to Mrs. Siddons' benefit.

"Wednesday 29th. May. At ½ past seven Mrs. Inman presented me with a little girl. A disagreeable day. A bad cough. Mr. Benett bled me wh. relieved me a little, kept my bed most of the day. A bad night."

This was his eldest daughter Mary Ann Riché. Two days later he writes, "The two Serv't Maids ill and William. (My friend Mr. Freeman called on me.) Had a disagreeable night being obliged to take the Child."

He goes to the Coffee House and finds most every one complaining of colds. Sunday he has a ride to the Wells, on Monday a walk and on Tuesday "Rode on Horseback, a fine day & went to the Ball in the Evening. Thursday, a fine day. Rode over to Bath with Captain Chapman, took a Beef Stake at the Christopher Inn, got home at nine very much tired & was obliged to sitt up till Twelve for Mr. William who thought it proper to stay out."

He enjoyed meeting his old friend Borland [1] and took dinner, tea or supper with him nearly every day. They belonged to a club of young loyalists which met in the evenings and he always puts down whether he returns at nine or later.

"Sunday July 10th. Miss Davis called abt. 10, went to church with my wife who was churched by Mr. Wilkins, she dined with my wife, I dined with Captain Chapman, drank tea with several went home at 8.

"Monday 16th. Walked with my wife into Town, she called on Mrs. Hallowell, Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Vassall, she returned home fatigued at 2. I dined with Vassall in comp Capt. Taylor, Evans, Bland. returned home at 6 took my wife in Thrall's Chaise to the play. William being behind fell off and was much hurt, returned home at 10. Heard from my Father with £30.

"Wednesday the 17th. Went to Burrington in a Coach. My child was rec'd into the Church. Mett there Borland, Lewis and wife & Miss Davis, returned home at nine.

"Wednesday the 31st went out about 8 o'clock for Burrington. My Uncle, Mrs. Inman two children and Sarah in Thrall's Chaise. I on Horseback, dined there left my Uncle at home and returned in the Chaise. William rode back the Horse, got back at nine.

"Sunday 1st September. Sarah and the two children went to Burrington in Thrall's Chaise to spend a few days. William walked and led the dog." They came back on the 5th, William

[1] John Lindell Borland, son of John and Anne (Vassall) Borland of Cambridge, his classmate at Harvard, later a lieutenant colonel in the British Army.

walking with the dog. "Sunday the 8th. William went to Burrington on horseback & carried my Uncle's servant Nanny behind him."

The next event was the Autumnal Fair at Bristol, where Lieut. Inman bought toys for Freeman and spent some time putting up prints in his room.

"Wednesday 28th. October Sarah's sister came as nurse-maid." The next day Sarah was married. From the receipt book, which we own, we find that for eight months' service Sarah received one pound seventeen shillings and sixpence, and the house servant one pound fifteen shillings. The sister was the faithful Betty who lived with them three years and was then dismissed for insolence and ingratitude. But she was back again with them in a few months, taking care of the ever-increasing family.

"Fryday 28th. A disagreeable wett day, Mrs. & Miss Inman Betty and the two children went in Thrall's Chaise to Burrington I went on Horseback, found my Uncle's family well. About 7 came in Sarah, now Mrs. Stevenson & her Husband stayed till nine then my Uncle sent them on Horseback to the Langford Inn where they slept and sett out the next day for Plymouth in the stage. I left William & the Sergeant to take care of my House."

The next month he begins to take lessons on the flute from the Musick Master, and on December 10th goes in the coach to London, where he calls on Sir William Pepperell, finds that Sir William Howe is not in town and goes to the Drury Lane Theatre where he sees Mrs. Siddons in the "Grecian Daughter."

"Fryday December 18th. Walked with Mrs. Russell in the Park mett Hugh Gordon and Mr. Richard Parker, went to the Horse Guards where Gen'l Murray's Court Martial is held, Called on Mr. Belcher, who is just from Boston, dined at the Cannon Coffee House by myself. Passed Mr. Coombe this day in the park, he either did not or would not know me.

"Thursday 19th. a fine Morning Breakfasted at the Cannon Coffee House — went to the Horse Guards to hear Gen'l Murray's Tryal. at ½ past one walked over to Lambeth to dine in comp'y Mr. & Mrs. Harry Inman & a Mr. Foster of Boston. at 6 went to the play at Covent Garden.— after the play went

to a Cyder Cellar & drank Cyder and ate Bread & Cheese in Maiden Lane. Left Jno & Harry in the Haymarket, who were going to Lambeth & went to my Lodgings where I arrived abt. 11.

"Christmas Day. called on Sir William Pepperell & Sir William Erskin.

"Jan'y 1st. 1783 Breakfasted with Mr. Coombe walked to George's Strand. Saw Mr. King & Mr. Russell, called on Crawford walked over to Lambeth dined in Com'y Mr. & Mrs. Harry Inman, Mr. Walker & Son, walked over to Swan's supped at the hotel White Bear, Piccadille, took place in the Machine for Bristol, got in at 10 rode all night very cold and bad Com'y, found it disagreeable.

"Thursday 2nd. Breakfasted at Newberry, dined at Devizes got home at 9 found all well & my uncle & Sally there — was very happy to find my self at home."

Lieutenant Inman never gives any reasons for anything, simply states facts. It seems as if they were very contented at Bristol in their little home, when comes this entry: "Jan'y 7th. Packed up our things ready for moving walked into Town, called on Mrs. Hooper, walked in the Green with Tisdale dined at Home — sent my things away in the Even'g to Lodgings I have taken in Princess St.

"Wednesday 8th. rainy day packed up all our things and sent them to 41 Princess St. our new Lodgings — Abt. three went there ourselves in Thral's Chaise & dined — left the Corp'l & Molly at our House." Next day "Our furniture this day selling at auction." Only nine months in their quiet home. Lieutenant Inman was fond of outdoor life. He speaks of walking and riding and of taking his gun and dog, and going on the Mendip hill for the most of the day. Usually adding "no sport," though once he says "shott an unfortunate snipe," and another day "Got a brace of Partridges." Not quite three weeks in the new lodgings when we read: "Fryday Jan'y 24th. Took my Uncle home in Thrall's Chaise my wife & Freeman accompanying, William riding my Uncle's Horse — went to Rowbarrow & called on Mrs. Wm. Symmes & looked over the Dowager Lady's House which we have taken for one Quar'r of a year to live in. returned to Burrington dined in Comp'y my

Uncle, Dr. Darch, Mr. & Mrs. John Inman, Miss Inman. left at 5 cleared off a fine Even'g got home at 7.

"Wednesday 9th. a fine morning at noon turned to rain. at Two o'clock left Bristol in Thral's Chaise with Freeman & Mary for our Home in Rowbarrow, Betty & a new maid, come this day, called Nancy, in another Chaise, got out abt 7 putt our things in a little order, went to Bed about 10 Tired."

He next gets a "chair" and borrows the Symmes horse and goes to ride, gets to work in the garden, plants potatoes and cauliflower plants on Feb'y 25th when the ground is covered with snow. and on the "5th of March Stormy night & dark day" puts in "cucumber and melon seeds in the Hott bed."

Rev. George Inman was rector of Rowbarrow as well as Burrington and had service at one church in the morning and the other in the afternoon; he often dined with the Inmans.

"Fryday Aprill 4th. My Freeman's birthday, just two years old remarkable fine weather. I amused myself planting Indian Corn, Pottatoes Onions & Kidney Beans." He is intensely interested in the garden and amuses himself there nearly every day.

"Monday 29th. Aprill. Fine weather. Mr. John Inman came in abt 10 & gave me notice that he heard the Bailiff intended to visit me.— The Bailiff came but did not stay. Heard by accident that Footman & Taylor had procured a Writ for me for £40."

It was the first of May and fine growing weather and all going on well in the garden he loved, but he had to shut himself up in his bedroom and give out that he had gone to London. Many visitors called but he did not dare to go down to see them, even his relatives. At the end of a fortnight he writes, "Stay'd upstairs, as usual — begin to be tired of the confinement which I find irksome"; and the next day he ventured into the garden in the evening to fork down his cucumbers.

"May 19th. Got a letter from Lane for me to draw £60, On the 21st gave Trotman £20 & gave him my note for £20 more payable at two months after date. At 7 oClock quitted my confinement and went into my garden.

"Sunday August 10th. Mr. Freeman sent a man to desire me to come to Town as he had letters from my Father, the contents he wished to comunicate A rainy Morn'g My Uncle came for

church, he had letters he received last evening from my Father of 30th. June last some for me not of a pleasing nature — Accusing me of extravagance & of leaving him in the time of his Distress." Mr. Freeman is uneasy about his situation. Lieutenant Inman was recruiting officer at Bristol, but there is record only of one man recruited, who was brought to him by the Corporal and promptly sent back to Bristol.

"Sunday August 17th packed up some of our things for our intended Jaunt to London. Monday 18th. Went in the Langford Chaise for Bristol, took my servant with me Breakfasted at Clifton and dined took my leave of them Went to Town and bespoke a Coach for Wednasday. Concluded upon this day that Mr. & Mrs. Jno Inman and Sally should be left at Rowbarrow till my matters should be settled that is the things I left behind disposed of.

"Tuesday 19th. Very warm. Sent off all our things in Scull's cart for the Langford Inn, where James' waggon takes them up in the night. Sally went over to Burrington early as my Uncle is to have Com'y he sent his Horse for me. I went over to dinner — My wife two children & Betty came in the Chaise abt. 3, we took leave of them all. abt. 4 for Bristol put up at the Pelican. Borland called.

"Wednesday 20th. Got into the Coach at 7 rode till 6 in the Even'g passed through Bath, Devizes, Andover an d many other small Towns got to Yelverton abt. 68 miles, where we put up for the night. 21st. Left Yelverton abt 7 rode until 4 when we got to Town & put up at the Crown & Anchor, Strand where we dined. Took Lodgings at 10 Arundel Street & moved there in the Even'g. The children behaved remarkably well during the journey." Freeman was two years old and Mary one. The 29th of May he notes that the Sunday after her first birthday she took off her cap. The next week they go to lodgings in Titchfield Street, many loyalists call on them and they spend part of nearly every day with the Putnams. "Tuesday September 9th. Mrs. Putnam sent us over an Indian pudding, the first I have seen in England.

"Wednesday 10th. Went after dinner to the Putnams with my wife and Free drank tea there played cards till Ten in Comp'y Mr. & Mrs. & Miss Putnam, Mr. Gray, Mr. Danforth,

Mr. Hale & a Mr. Porter, all Americans. we got home at 10. Jno came for Free at 7. This Even'g the moon was in an eclipse.

"Wednesday Sept 17th Called on Mrs. Molesworth she was not at home, she is a native of Boston, her maiden name was Sukey Sheaffe saw her daughter, saw Col. Scott late of Boston who told me that Letters have been rec'd from Boston as late as the 9th. of August last. & that my cousin Jno Inman had arrived there but was not suffered to land — he was sent off to Rhode Island.

"Sunday 28th. Mr. Putnam & Betsy Br't over Capt Callahan, who is going to Boston, to see the children.

"Wednesday 1st October 1783. Dr. Gardner, late of Boston, came to this House as a Lodger today, he came up and drank tea and satt a while.

"Saturday 4th. Met Mr. Ben Cutler, of Boston, he satt with me sometime.

"Monday 6th. October, This day remarkable for the Proclamation of Peace with France, Spain & the United States of America — wh. was performed with great ceremony.

"Tuesday 7th. This day took the newspaper between Dr. Gardner & Mr. Putnam." On Oct. 16th he walked with four officers and Richard Parker to Lincolns Inn Fields where they appeared before the five commissioners for examining the claims of the loyalists, "in behalf of said Parker's loyalty." On Oct. 28th another daughter was born who only lived a month and was buried in the parish of St. Mary-le-Bone.

"Wednesday 29th. Pennington called on me with whom I went to see Mr. Copley's pictures, where we met with Sir William Pepperell Mr. Palmer, & Mr. Iverson. Took my Free with me.

"Tuesday 23rd. Dec. heard today that my friend Borland was married. Saturday 17th Jan'y [1784] A fine day went to the Cannon from thence to Old Bailey saw several Prisoners br't to the Barr and convicted, among the number one Lee who was formerly an officer in the Light, who was bro't in guilty of forgery.

"Feb'y 18th. Mett my old Friend Borland, called with him on Wright & then went to the Hotel Adelphi to see Mrs. Borland.

"Monday 9th. March Pay'd Mrs. Lyons for 28 weeks Lodg-

ings — happy at the thought of leaving London, wh. I found both expensive & disagreeable, though the people with whom we have lodged have been perfectly civil during our being under their Roof.

"Wednesday 10th sett off in Post Chaise with my wife Two children & Betty abt. 7 lodged at the Saracen Head, Towcheter 6 miles from Town. Bad Inn, Snow & Slite.

"Thursday, After Breakfast at 10 sett off arrived at Colehill 103 miles, dined and lodged at the Swan. Fryday — Breakfast at 7 left the Swan at 8 got to Namptwich 162 miles abt. 6 Bad inn dined & lodged. Saturday March 13th. Breakfast at Namptwich got to Chester ab't one, 181½ miles from London. Putt up at the Talbot Inn dined drank tea, supped & lodged. Sunday Mett my old friend and acquaintance Hayman of the 17th in the Passage of the Inn. He breakfasted with us — Called on Mr. Folliet enquiring after a passage to Dublin.

"Monday 15th. Took lodgings on Bridge St with Mr. Preston, a taylor. at 7 dined at the Inn after wh. went with my family to our Lodging.

"Monday 16th found ourselves as comfortable as possible. walked around the City on the Walls which are paved and clean.

"Wednesday 17th. Weather fine walked out and called at the Talbot Coffee House, mett Hayman, who is going out of town Entered into conversation with a little gent'm, who asked me to dine with a party at the Inn in consequence of being St. Patrick's Day. wh I declined dined at home by ourselves.

"18th. Walked to the Coffee House mett my little friend but dont know his name.

"Fryday 19th March. Mett captain Baron late of the 4th. satt with him some time.

"Saturday 20th. This morning Capt. & Mrs. Barron called on us — at 3 my wife & self call'd at the Castle & dined with Capt. & Mrs. Barron & Miss Frazer. drank tea and supped. spent a pleasant day. An ancient Castle stood a siege of twenty-seven weeks in Cromwell's time. Capt. Barron has an Invalid Company in the Castle.

"Sunday 21st. went out to walk with the intention of going to church. went to the Cathedral, but was obliged to come out the sexton not being obliging enough to allow me a seat. Went

to the Coffee House & read the papers." On the 29th Parliament dissolved and Chester was nothing but noise and confusion. The first day of April they set out for Park Gate expecting to sail the next day, but the merchants of Chester were so taken up with electioneering that they could not send their goods to be shipped. So they had to stay a whole week in a bad inn. A tedious wait. At the end of that time they embarked on the *Sutton* and in three days were in Ireland. They took coach to Arklow, where Lieutenant Inman reported to his regiment, the 26th. and went on to Wexford. "Happy to find ourselves at our Journey's end, being five weeks and one day on our Journey from London."

The 16th. he reported at Barracks, got lodgings, a man and maid-servant and had both children innoculated for small pox. On the 21st "Putt on my regimentals for the first time." 22nd. "Drummond & Little breakfasted with me. rode with Capt. Duke to Ferry Carrick & bathed for the first time since I left America." They were not at their journey's end; two days later the whole family set off in a Coach and four and three days later arrived in Dublin.

Lieutenant Inman was cordially received by his brother officers and there was much visiting among them and their wives. But it was a hard life for him and he often speaks of his fatigue. Out with the regiment or drilling the battalion. One night they feared a riot and sat up all night. Another time a man was being punished for tarring and feathering, the guard ordered to attend and meeting with some opposition fired on the mob and killed and wounded several. He had to go to the Riding House and see the men flogged. He attended the Duchess of Rutland and had to line the road with his men when the Lord Lieutenant went to Christ Church on account of the celebration of the Irish Rebellion, and when he went to the Parliament.

On Sunday, October 31st, another little girl was born. This one was named for his sister Susannah Linzee. On Nov. 2nd he was admitted into the "Blue and Orange," and records the next day "November 4th. went to the Barracks at 11. The reg't paraded for Punishment. got home at 12. dressed to go with the Reg't into Town with the 4th, 48th & 65th to fire around the statue of King William, it being the day of his Birth.

His Grace the Lord Lieutenant going in state round the monument & round Stephen's Green, the procession and the firing took place between the hours of 3 & 5. Dressed again for dinner at the Barrack Coffee Roome with the Blue & Orange, where an elegant dinner was provided in honour of the day, about 50 at two tables, got home (remarkably sober from the quantity of drink & the cheerfulnes of the Company) about 12.

"Monday Dec. 13th. Two children self & Betty got into a Coach call'd at Capt. Ash's lodgings took him in the Coach and went to see a remarkable small Gentleman by the appellation of Count Powlowisky, the completest little man I suppose ever seen. about 3 feet high, well made, good address, talks very sensibly & altogether a surprising polite body.

"Wednesday 15th Dec. Rec'd a letter from my Uncle containing one from my Aunt Rowe, My Father does not think it worth while to write to me but has wrote my Uncle wherein he mentions me in such a manner as by no means gives me the least satisfaction.

"31st. There ends the Year 1784 & I pray to be enabled by the wise Directions of Providence to improve my time the ensuing year to more advantage both to myself, my dear wife and three Blessed Infants."

The great excitement at this time was a Mr. Crosbie who promised to take an aerial journey in a balloon across the Channel to England. Vast concourses of people went to see him go up but were disappointed many times by reason of rain and winds and on one occasion by there being too much "common air" in the balloon, it was said. One day when many were there he was unable to ascend on account of his weight and that of the car. A young man by the name of Maguire of the 61st volunteered to go up. He remained in sight an hour and nineteen minutes and came down in the country where he was picked up by some fishermen. The next day the Lord Lieutenant knighted him. Later, at Chester they saw Lunardi ascend. He came down at Macclesfield forty miles away and on his return to town he was chaired.

One night he went with several officers, all in dominoes, to a masked ball given by the Duke of Leinster. "It was very hott and crowded," so they left at 12 o'clock and went to a fancy ball

given by the Lord Lieutenant, supped there and remained till 7 in the morning.

Lieutenant Inman was a year and a month in Ireland and then began the tedious journey back to England, and the 27th of May 1785 they were again at Chester in the same inn where they had stayed the year before, and he writes, "We are all very happy to leave Ireland & the Regiment as I found it exceedingly expensive meeting with the greatest Impositions from every Person whom I had anything to do with." They took the same lodgings at Mr. Preston's which they had formerly and renewed their intimacy with Capt. & Mrs. Barron at the Castle.

"Saturday July 23rd. Mrs. Barron called to let me know she had received a letter from Boston (by the Edward, Capt. Scott) wch. ship I had been informed by my cousin George was the one in wh. My Father & Mother intended coming to England, & that her letter mentioned the death of my Mother, wh. circumstance I fear will prevent my Father's coming so soon." Mrs. Ralph Inman died two months before this, May 25th.

"20th. of August rec'd a letter from my Cousin George with the mortifying information that my Father declined Thoughts of coming to England." October 20 Major Courtland's little Mary died of the small pox. He was invited to the funeral the next day but as he was dining with Capt. Bowen could not go. His little Susan was inoculated. Soon after Mr. Worthington's child next door died of the same disease.

"December 31st. This night as 12 o'clock departed this Life never more to return the Year 1785. Sic transit gloria mundi."

He has a garden again here at Chester and puts in various vegetables, is very intimate with the Courtlands and Skinners. Katy and Peggy Courtland and Peggy and Marian Skinner come often to amuse the children and there is constant eating at one or the other house. The 23rd. of June, 1786, another daughter is born, named for his aunt, Hannah Rowe. Fortunately the faithful Betty, who had been dismissed in the autumn, had come back. In August the Skinner and Courtlands sailed from Liverpool for Shelburne, Nova Scotia. He writes, "Found ourselves very awkward in the loss of our good friends the Skinners."

"Fryday 1st September. Not being able to procure a dog at a

cheap rate was obliged to submit to the Mortification of giving up the Idea of Partridge Shooting wh. Commenced this day, though I attended with the expense of 2 guineas for a License." Later he goes shooting with friends and gets a dog.

"Monday September 11th. A great number of Strangers coming to Town for the Oratorio, commencing Monday, but two expensive for me to partake of any of the Week's amusements, therefore I shall stay at home Mrs. Siddons performs the part of Belvedera this Even'g.

"October 22nd. The Fare at Chester. This day the Annual Custom of the Bull Bait, wh. we saw from the Walls in the Rhodes, a barborous Custom more fitt for the time in which it Originated than the present wh. ought to be more civilized than to suffer it."

There is the account of one pleasant break in their dull life. "Monday Aprill 9th. [1787] Arose early at Seven, Mr. & Mrs. Wrench & Mrs. Wrench's maid Polly came in a Coach & after Breakfast sett off, my wife & self being of the Party, for Manchester. we rode to Preston Brook, about 15 miles — then we got into a Canal Boat of the Duke of Bridgewater's — & proceeded the remainder of the way, about 27 Miles, we arrived at Manchester about ½ past 6 in the Even'g, it being a remarkably fine day added to the easy mode of conveyance & every hedge & tree with the fields of a most beautifull Verdure rendered it very pleasant — many passengers on board, wh. we took up as we passed up the Canal — we putt up at the Bull's Head, a Mr. Whittaker who was a passenger waited on us there. We had supper at nine, retired to rest soon. Mr. Wrench & I took a walk in the Even'g.

"Tuesday 10th Aprill. Arose abt. nine, found the House very dirty, but as to the articles of eating good, walked out after breakfast with our wives, attended them a-Shopping — We took a walk by Sir Richard Arkwright's Cotton Manufactory, and to the Infirmary — walked out again after dinner to some shops — about nine an old acquaintance Captain Miles, of the 17th. Regt, who is Recruiting Officer here, called on me. He supped with us & went away abt. Eleven. Mr. Whittaker called in the Morning to offer his attendance to the Manufactory, wh. we defer till tomorrow — Find this place very dirty though

some parts of the Town well built & clean. The above Sir Richard Arkwright, now possessed of an immense fortune, was formerly a Hair dresser and Shaver in this Town.

"Wednesday 11th. Capt. Miles called abt. Eleven as did Mr. Whittaker, who went with us to a Mr. Silvester's Fustian Manufactory who shewed us the different & curious processes, the burning, carding & cutting of it — we parted at 2 with these two gentlemen. Miles dined with us — after four the above named gentlemen attended again & shewed us the carding & spinning of Cotton, the stamping of Linen &C. &c. we got back to the inn abt 7 taking leave of these Gent'm. Miles supped with us.

"Thursday 12th. abt. 7 we got up & went to the Boat on our return to Chester, in wh. we Breakfasted & took on a Gent'm by the name of Waterhouse, a Singer on the Stage, who joined us, after stopping at Lime London Bridge, where we took in a lady by the name of Miss Smith we proceeded to Preston Brook, dined there got into the Coach, Mrs. Wrench & maid going in the diligence with Mr. Waterhouse, Miss Smith going with us, got to Chester after 7 my wife & I supped with Mrs. Wrench only themselves, walked home after ten, found my children well & pleased to see us. Aprill 14th my wife busy preparing our luggage to go to Philadelphia, embarking about the middle of next month." They never went.

Again he is pursued by the bailiff. From the 8th of May till the 4th. of June he was shut up in his room or in the house of Mr. Worthington next door, where he had sent his trunks, giving out that he had gone to Liverpool.

"Tuesday June 5th. My Wife, Free & Mary went to drink tea with Mrs. Collier — I got out abt. Eleven at night, went to the Colliers where two chaises were sent for took my wife & children. I walked on the Wrexham Road & was taken up by them, Worthington being with us as far as Wrexham where we changed chaises. Rode all night got to Shrewsbury abt. Eight o'clock Wednesday the 6th. where we breakfasted sett off at ten, went to Birmingham Abt five in the afternoon. dined & lodged at the Hotel. a good inn comfortable beds.

"Thursday Jun 7th. did not get up till late breakfasted & dined at the Hotel abt 7 went in a hackney Coach to the Castle with

all my family and put them into a Post Coach for London. we rode all night." On June 8 they got to London. Found their friends the Whites, who were very kind to them—Jane, Katy and Peggy. They looked for lodgings and finally took a house from Mrs. Coyde at Putney. Lieutenant Inman was ill. There was a garden at this house, which they took the ninth of June, and the first thing was to have a man to put it in order. Many days were spent in the house or garden, but occasionally there were trips to London, to Whitehall to see Napean, Secretary of State, and to call on prominent people; evidently he was seeking a position.

One day, at the Secretary's office at Whitehall, he found written on a window shutter, by some unfortunate fellow who had been waiting perhaps like many others, the following:

> In sore affliction tried by God's Commands,
> Of Patience Job the great example stands,
> But in these Days a tryal more Severe
> Had been Job's lot if God had sent him here.

"Dec. 6th. No one called Quite tyerd of this idle way of living, wish much to go to America in the spring." He sends Freeman aged 6½ and Mary 5 to a school kept by the landlady's daughter next door. They seem well pleased. He borrows a gun and shoots the blackbirds who eat the "berrys" from the two holly bushes in front of his door.

"Spent a stupid dull Xmas Week nothing to change the dismal Scene that I have had before me these many months past.

"Last day of 1787 wh. has been the most unfortunate year of my Life being replete with Disappointments & Mortifying Circumstances I trust that by the blessing of Divine Providence shall meet with more favorable business the Ensuing year, & by the Countenance & devotion of my friends shall be enabled to provide better for my dear wife and blessed Babes han has hitherto been my lot in Life, wh s my only prayer & fervently do I entreat the all wise Disposer of Events to take pity on them & not punish them for the sins of their Father. God's holy will be done. I shall hope that the New Year will shortly work a change in my affairs for the better, shall expect to hear shortly from America to my advantage."

Another daughter was born February 3rd, 1788. At this time they find Dr. Coombe of Philadelphia, who married Mrs. Inman's only sister. She died during the Revolution. He now lives at Brompton with a second wife and little daughter, and Bernard, a fine boy, probably the son of the first wife. There is visiting back and forth, and one afternoon Dr. Coombe comes with Bernard and baptizes the new baby, who is called Sarah Coombe.

"March 25th. Engaged passage to Grenada." Captain Linzee was in London at this time and they were constantly together. He tried to interest influential men in getting Lieutenant Inman a good position; he lent him three hundred pounds which he afterwards claimed on the settlement of the Inman estate; and Aunt Rowe sent him fifty pounds.

"Fryday 4th Aprill. My Freeman's Birthday, just seven years old Walked to Town at 6 Breakfasted at the Cannon, called at Whitehall. Linzee not very well, we walked into the City & went on board the Lively,— Linzee walked out with me to Putney & stayed all night."

Packing, calling on friends to take leave, and visits to Whitehall, where he gets a letter from Lord Sidney to General Matthews, take up the time. "On the 14th received a pleasing letter from my Dr Father saying I might return to Boston." Apparently it came too late, for all was now ready for the voyage to the West Indies. On the 19th Betty left them, going in the *Nancy* to Plymouth in hopes of getting a place. "Much distressed at leaving us & the children.— Had short commons a small piece of cold beef for dinner — Bread & milk for the children. tempora mutandum."

He went to buy mattresses, scarce had money to pay for them. Had to wait two weeks in dirty, uncomfortable lodgings in Tooley Street, London, for the vessel to sail. Finally on "Aprill 28th got up early went to Billingsgate got my things on board, and my family in a Gravesend boat & sailed at 7, got to Gravesend before 12 got on board the Lively for Grenada. took up my Quarters, the mate's wife being on board assisted my wife in attending to the children." A black girl coming on board, they took her for that purpose. After many tedious delays they sailed. He "was much hurt at passing the masts of

the Royal George, off Spithead wh. was out of water. a melancholly sight to reflect that thousands of poor souls went down on her. All the family very sick except baby Sally." On the 21st of June, nearly two months after they went on board, they arrived at George Town, Grenada.

Lieutenant Inman was well received by his brother officers. The general gave him a horse, after he had been there a while. There was the usual calling, dining and supping with the officers and their wives, he going on horseback, his wife being carried in a hammock. He had charge of the mules and tried to make them eat oats. There did not seem to be much to do besides walking or riding up Richmond Hill.

In August and September he and his wife were both very ill with fever. His faithful friend Captain Mackeral cared for him, and on October 2nd. told him that his father had died. The news had come some time before but he did not dare to tell him, he was so ill. He was now co-heir with his sister Mrs. Linzee to the Inman estate, but it did him no good. They had disagreeable quarters. He was better and went to the general's to breakfast but was taken so ill there that he had to go home and send for Dr. Bulkely. Several pages are illegible from faded ink. The last entry is dated Jan'y 31st 1789 and reads: "Rode up early to the Hospital Hill. Breakfasted with Captain Anderson, called on Captain Layard saw him. Mett with Captain Miller Stopped at the Mule Pen, saw that the mules had their first quart of oats — got home abt Ten. Dr. Bulkely called and sat with me a little while."

Soon after this he and his dearly loved boy, Freeman, died. The executors of the Inman estate sent a vessel to Grenada to bring the widow and four little daughters to Cambridge. The oldest was six and a half years old.

So ended the life of George Inman that was full of promise at his graduation. His father and uncle, both prominent in the business life of Boston, would have helped him to be a good citizen. Three years in the office of the Brimmers, surrounded by friends and relatives, was followed by five years' fighting against his native land and eight years of exile in England and Ireland, during which he bemoaned his poverty which prevented him from buying the captaincy he longed for. The last

seven months spent in dull garrison duty at Grenada, racked by fever and robbed by his servants, his only work trying to make the government mules eat oats.

Four years after his death George Inman's widow, who was Mary Badger, daughter of Bernard and Susannah (Riché) Badger of Philadelphia, married there Charles Swift, whose first wife was Mary Riché. At that time her youngest daughter was five years old. This was Sarah Coombe Inman. Mr. Swift had a son Charles Riché Swift. Probably these two children so near of an age were brought up in the same nursery. They were married June 8, 1814. He changed his name to Charles Swift Riché and was a merchant in Philadelphia and South America. They had nine children and it was from the widow of their grandson that we obtained the journal.

Mrs. Mary Badger (Inman) Swift had three sons by her second marriage and lived until April 2, 1833. Her second daughter, Susannah Linzee Inman, married the nephew of her step-father, Thomas Fergusson Livingston, son of Robert Cambridge and Alice (Swift) Livingston, November 25, 1811. They had ten children.

The eldest daughter of George Inman, Mary Ann Riché Inman married, August 9, 1821, Joseph Lewis Cunningham, son of Andrew and Polly (Lewis) Cunningham, of Boston. His first wife was her cousin, Sarah Inman Linzee. She died 1 February, 1825, and is buried in the Granary Burying Ground in Boston.

Hannah Rowe Inman, the third daughter of George Inman, married William Tilden, brother of Joseph Tilden who was the husband of her cousin Susannah Inman Linzee.

George Inman has many descendants prominent in Boston, Philadelphia and New York, though none bear the name of Inman.

In this account of the journal of George Inman, the last four volumes are much curtailed. On the inside of the covers are many notes. Recipes for making good things to eat and drink, and a few medicinal recipes. In that for 1785–86 there is a list of lottery tickets bought and prizes won. Total loss in four years being 26 pounds 9 shillings 12 pence.

In the first volume are a number of interesting tables, finely drawn up, containing the names of officers killed during the war,

with the regiments to which they belonged, places, and dates. Names of those killed in duels with names of opponents, places, and dates. Names of the officers of the Royal Navy and the ships lost since January, 1775. This gives the number of guns of each ship, names of commanders, places where lost and dates. List of His Majesty's ships taken by the enemy with names of those who took them and the places and dates. Also the ships of war taken from the French, Dutch and Spanish, and from the Americans, with notes on the changes of names.

In volume one he notes that "In Vienna men Introduced to the Emperor make Courtesies instead of Bows. In France nobody Bows or kisses hands, but in Spain and England Bows are made and hands kissed."

In this same volume are descriptions of European countries, and a list of the contents of seven trunks and two boxes. Although he often speaks of being wet through in England he never mentions using the oil silk unbrella, which was in one of the trunks.

For the information regarding the Philadelphia descendants of George Inman see *Genealogy of the Kollock Family* of Sussex County, Delaware, 1657–1897. By Edwin Jaquett Sellers. Philadelphia, 1897.

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL

During the past year the Society has been peculiarly fortunate in one respect at least. The roll of members shows few losses and many gains. Only two deaths have been recorded:

Martha Louisa Stratton Ensign
Robert Swain Morison

And only six resignations or removals:

Christina Hopkinson Baker
Thomas Harrison Cummings
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana [1]
Edward Young Hincks
Stephen Emerson Young
Henrietta Nesmith Young

While on the other hand we have welcomed to membership:

Agnes Gordon Balch
Mary Emory Batchelder
Elizabeth Chadwick Beale
Alexander Harvey Bill
Marion Edgerly Bill
Charles Jesse Bullock
George Herbert Bunton
Bertha Close Bunton
Ada Louise Comstock
Adeline Anna Douglass
Esther Stevens Fraser
Doris Hayes-Cavanaugh
Stanley Barbour Hildreth
Alison Bixby Hill
Wallace St. Clair Jones
Ethel Robinson Jones
Norton Adams Kent
Margaret Crowninshield Kent

[1] Resigned as of 1922.

David Thompson Watson McCord
Georgie Maria Marsters
Elizabeth MacFarlane
Arthur Boylston Nichols
Gertrude Fuller Nichols
David Thomas Pottinger
Mabel Rena Mawhinney Rand
Grace Reed Walden

A total of twenty-six, compared with our loss of twenty and gain of three last year. We should now be at or near our maximum of two hundred regular members were it not that several have recently removed from Cambridge and thus under the by-laws become associate members, leaving about a dozen more of regular memberships to be filled.

The regular meetings have continued during the year, with an interesting variety of subjects considered. The annual meeting was held on January 27, 1925, at Mr. Penman's, 146 Brattle Street. The officers were reëlected with the exception of Robert Walcott elected a vice-president in place of Worthington Chauncey Ford, and Edward Waldo Forbes, Clarence Henry Poor, Jr., and John William Wood, Jr., elected to the Council in place of Miss Longfellow, Professor Robinson, and Mr. Walcott. The Treasurer's report showed an unrestricted balance on hand of $2244. A large-scale plan of the Old Burying Ground at Harvard Square was shown, prepared without expense to the Society by Lewis M. Hastings, City Engineer. This plan, a work of much time and labor, shows every stone now standing, consecutively numbered (over 1200 in all) and entered on a finding list. Since that time an alphabetical list and a chronological list have also been prepared, so that it is now possible not only to answer immediately any enquiry as to a given interment, but to locate the grave at once. Much further work however remains to be done. The speaker of the evening was Professor Edwin H. Hall, who read a paper on "The History of Charitable Societies in Cambridge," including a sketch of James Huntington, founder of the Avon Place Home.

The spring meeting was held April 28, at the house of Professor Horatio S. White, 29 Reservoir Street. Some discussion took place as to the "Village Smithy," fragments of which have

been offered to the Society through Mrs. Farlow. Robert Walcott spoke on "Charles Follen," and exhibited various books, pictures, and manuscripts relating to him.

The annual garden party took place June 12 at Mr. Bell's, 121 Brattle Street. The weather was delightful and there was a large attendance. Tea was served under the trees from 4.30 to 5.15 P.M., when the assembly adjourned within doors. After remarks by several members concerning the approaching civic celebration on July 3, Mrs. Farlow read a paper on recollections of her childhood, entitled "Quincy Street in the Fifties."

The autumn meeting was held October 27, at the residence of Mr. James L. Paine, 9 Waterhouse Street. The by-laws were amended so that persons not resident but having a usual place of business in Cambridge may be eligible to regular membership; and two new by-laws were adopted providing for the suitable disposition of the Society's property in the event of its possible dissolution. The Curator exhibited and commented on a valuable set of scrap-books presented by Mrs. Herbert A. Saunders and containing a mass of material relating to Cambridge, from 1705 through the Civil War, collected by the late Charles S. Saunders. The Secretary spoke on "Contemporary Evidence on the Washington Elm Tradition."

The Council has held four meetings during the year. Of the matters referred to it by the Society, Messrs. Bell and Wright, the committee on the printing of the remainder of the town records, have reported that some search has been made for a transcript of the original volume, believed to have been made for the printer many years ago by the indefatigable Miss Sarah Jacobs, and distinctly remembered by Mrs. Gozzaldi, who made use of it. It has not been found as yet, but the possibilities are not exhausted, as the volumes of early records at City Hall are in a state of much confusion. There are several series — town, selectmen, proprietors, treasurers, etc.— kept in all manner of books, sometimes intermixed in the same book, scattered about the city clerk's vault, and not even familiar to the officials themselves. To arrange, digest, check up, and catalogue them would be an appropriate field for the Society's efforts.

On the committee to raise funds for the publication of Mrs. Gozzaldi's index to Paige's *History of Cambridge*, the president

appointed Mr. Dana, Mrs. Gozzaldi, Mr. Spalding, and Mr. Poor. After being supplied with the preliminary material, Messrs. Dana and Spalding resigned and were replaced by the Secretary and the Treasurer. The committee is now waiting for the preparation of estimates. Its present feeling is that before appealing to the city of Cambridge or to outsiders, a strong campaign should be conducted among the members of the Society themselves.

In the matter of changing the name of the Cambridge Bridge to the Longfellow Bridge, a hearing, as notified in the Secretary's last report, was held at the State House before the Committee on Metropolitan affairs, January 30 last, on the bill introduced by Mayor Curley for the above purpose. No opposition was expressed, but, probably because the bill included the expenditure of a sum of money for a memorial tablet, the committee reported "next General Court." An application this year may be more successful.

Heretofore the Council has met irregularly at the call of the president, sometimes at short notice. Under such circumstances it has often been difficult to secure a good attendance. This year a system of stated meetings, preceding the regular meetings of the Society by about a fortnight, has been introduced, and promises better results.

The Curator's report shows the gratifying increase of valuable gifts presented to the Society. Among them should be especially noted the beautiful series of photographs of the old Lee house and the old Gray house, given by Mr. and Mrs. Emerson and Mrs. Tudor respectively, because they serve as examples of a department of its collections which the Society ought to be developing as rapidly as possible. The far-reaching architectural changes which are now so swiftly altering the aspect of Cambridge make it incumbent on us, if we are to fulfil the functions which the community naturally expects us to fulfil, to preserve the pictures of the fine old houses which seem bound to disappear before long. If the owners of other historic mansions would follow the example so generously set by these donors, we should soon possess a department of architectural photographs which would be of incalculable value to our successors.

The above is only one example of the work that lies before us, only waiting to be undertaken. Other historical societies all around us, far weaker in numbers, wealth, and influence, and with far more restricted and uninteresting fields, are actively engaged in tasks of restoration, preservation, collection, investigation, construction, publication, and commemoration. It behooves us, in the words of our own poet, to be "up and doing." For the modern historical society it is not enough to gather at stated intervals and listen to an address. If our early records should become tattered or lost, the remaining stones of our old burying place hopelessly broken and defaced, our ancient landmarks be forgotten, our historic mansions give way unrecorded to modern buildings, and the Old Cambridge which we love become irretrievably lost in a New Cambridge, however efficient and up-to-date, let it not be said regretfully by those who come after us, "And where then was the Cambridge Historical Society?"

SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER,

Secretary

Cambridge, 26 January, 1926

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

1925

Cash Account

RECEIPTS

Balance from 1924		$2,244.74
Annual assessments: 153 Regular members, 1925	$459.00	
4 " " 1924	12.00	
1 " " 1926	3.00	
6 Associate " 1925	8.15	
(less overpayments in 1924)		
Three initiation fees	6.00	488.15
Interest on bank deposit		35.78
		$2,768.67

DISBURSEMENTS

Proceedings, Vol. XII, 350 copies	$489.00	
Miscellaneous printing	24.85	
Postage	2.00	
Stationery	10.25	
Clerical services	10.31	
Use of chairs at meetings	4.50	
Annual dues Bay State Historical League	2.00	
Annual allowance to Secretary, Treasurer and Curator, $25 each	75.00	617.91
Cash balance to 1926, Harvard Trust Co.		$2,150.76

Deposit in Cambridge Savings Bank

Balance, January, 1925	$672.27
Interest to January, 1926	34.03
Balance, book no.	$706.30

George G. Wright,
Treasurer

Cambridge, 27 January, 1926

I certify that I have this day examined the book of accounts of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year 1925, and find it correctly cast and properly vouched; and that the balances stated in this report are in the hands of the Treasurer.

Joseph H. Beale,
Auditing Committee

Cambridge, 26 January 1926

REPORT OF AUDITOR

The undersigned, appointed to audit the books of the Treasurer, reports that the books are accurately cast and properly vouched, and that the Treasurer now holds in his hands a balance of $2,150 (in round numbers) on general account and $650 on special account.

After consulting with the Treasurer, and with his approval, the undersigned begs leave to offer the following considerations and recommendations.

The deposit in the savings bank appears to represent the life memberships. This cannot be exactly checked up without great and useless labor on the old membership lists. It seems unnecessary to be precise in this matter. The deposit represents much more than the life membership payments of living life members. It is therefore recommended that the principal amount of this deposit be held as a life membership fund, on the terms set forth in the appended resolution.

The general balance of about $2,200 appears on its face to be a surplus; but it really represents a deficit. The annual publications of the Society are eight years in arrears; and this balance is not half large enough to pay for the eight volumes. A permanent deficit is most undesirable. Each volume costs as much as the income for the year, minus the regular expenses, can stand. The Treasurer and Auditor think that out of the income for this year the publication for 1925 should this year be printed; and that $2,000 dollars from the surplus should be set aside as a fund with which to print the Proceedings from 1918 to 1924 inclusive. This could not be done in full; the size of the volumes must be cut down, by omitting from these volumes the by-laws and the list of members, by omitting possibly some of the papers, and by printing the most important passages only from other papers. These details must be left to the Editor.

We therefore recommend the passage of the following resolutions:

Resolved: That the amount of $672.27, now in the Cambridge Savings Bank, be set aside as a permanent Life Membership

Fund; that to this fund shall be added all amounts hereafter received for life memberships; and that all interest on the fund accrued since January, 1925 and in future accruing shall be paid into the general treasury, to be used for the ordinary expenses of the Society.

Resolved: That the Proceedings for the year 1925 shall be published during the year 1926, and paid for out of the receipts of that year; and that during each succeeding year the Proceedings of the previous year be published and paid for from the receipts of that year.

Resolved: That the sum of $2,000 dollars be set apart from the amount now in the treasury as a fund for printing the publications from 1918 to 1924 inclusive; that the Secretary, with the approval of the Council, proceed as soon as may be with the printing of these publications, so managing the fund that it may be sufficient for all the publications.

All which is respectively submitted.

JOSEPH H. BEALE,

Auditor

Cambridge, 26 January, 1926

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DESCENDANTS OF EARLY SETTLERS OF CAMBRIDGE

The Committee on Cambridge Ancestors, appointed some years ago, was composed of Arthur Gilman, Professor Sharples and Mary Isabella Gozzaldi. Professor Sharples made out blanks and had them printed in the hope that many members of this Society would put on record the names, dates, and doings of their ancestors. Twenty members have done so. The blanks to be taken and filled out have been on the table at many meetings. Of course it takes quite a little time to fill them out, but if any member will give me dates back to grandfathers and grandmothers I will gladly fill out the earlier generations. Or I will be happy to aid anyone who wishes to complete their descent. The twenty members who have sent in their records are descended from sixty-two early settlers. One member counts twenty-two in her line, another seventeen.

Of these settlers Henry Prentice leads, having seven descendants who have made out the claim to him. Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter comes next with five, Gregory Stone with four, and the following with three descendants: Governor Thomas Dudley, Nicholas Wyeth, Major Simon Willard, William Manning. Theremainder have either one or two descendants in the Society.

Since the last meeting two members have sent in their filled blanks: Miss Carolyn Huntington Saunders, whose ancestors are: Zechariah Hicks, John Sill, Percival Green, Edward Mitchelson, and Ruling Elder Richard Champney.

Mrs. Lillian Clark Richardson (Mrs. George), who is descended from John Jones, Gregory Stone, Richard Robbins, Henry Prentice, President John Rogers, Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, Elizabeth (Harris) Glover, Major-General Daniel Dennison, Governor Thomas Dudley, and Deacon James Trowbridge.

It is hoped that more members will take an interest in this matter, as by means of these records the Society obtains new information regarding the early settlers and their families.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI

Cambridge, 26 January, 1926

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1926

President	Ephraim Emerton
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi William Coolidge Lane Robert Walcott
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	George Grier Wright

Council

Samuel Francis Batchelder
Joseph Henry Beale
Stoughton Bell
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Frank Gaylord Cook
Ephraim Emerton
Lillian Horsford Farlow
Edward Waldo Forbes
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
William Coolidge Lane
James Leonard Paine
Robert Walcott
George Grier Wright

REGULAR MEMBERS

1926

Marion Stanley Abbot
Anne Elizabeth Allen
Mary Ware Allen
Charles Almy
Albert Francis Amee
Sarah Russell Ames
Albert Stokes Apsey
Agnes Gordon Balch
Mary Emory Batchelder (L)
Samuel Francis Batchelder
Elizabeth Chadwick Beale
Joseph Henry Beale
Mabel Arrabella Lewis Bell
Stoughton Bell
Edward McElroy Benson
Alexander Harvey Bill
Caroline Eliza Bill
Marion Edgerly Bill
Clarence Howard Blackall
Emma Murray Blackall
Warren Kendall Blodgett
Ella Josephine Boggs
Annabel Perry Bonney
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Ada Leila Cone Brock
Arthur Hendricks Brooks
Jessie Waterman Brooks
Geraldine Brooks
Sumner Albert Brooks
Charles Jesse Bullock
Josephine Freeman Bumstead
Bertha Close Bunton
George Herbert Bunton
Raymond Calkins
Annie Jump Cannon
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Philip Putnam Chase
Leslie Linwood Cleveland
Frank Mulliken Clark
Ada Louise Comstock
Frank Gaylord Cook
Louis Craig Cornish
Samuel McChord Crothers
Henry Orville Cutter
Samuel Foster Damon
Elizabeth Ellery Dana
Richard Henry Dana
George Clement Deane
Mary Helen Deane
§John Frank De Chant
Lily Eugenie DeKalb
Ernest Joseph Dennen
Edward Sherman Dodge (L)
Harry Francis Roby Dolan
Adeline Anna Douglass
William Harrison Dunbar
Herbert Hunter Dyer
*Charles William Eliot
Samuel Atkins Eliot
Emmons Raymond Ellis
Frances White Emerson
William Emerson
Ephraim Emerton
Sybil Clark Emerton

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

Prescott Evarts
Lillian Horsford Farlow
Eunice Whitney Farley Felton
William Wallace Fenn
Edward Waldo Forbes
Worthington Chauncey Ford
Frances Fowler
Esther Stevens Fraser
*Edith Davenport Fuller
Edward Locke Gookin
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Virginia Tanner Green
*Edwin Blaisdell Hale
Albert Harrison Hall
Elizabeth Harris
Albert Bushnell Hart
Frank Watson Hastings
Doris Hayes-Cavanaugh
Stanley Barbour Hildreth
Alison Bixby Hill
Leslie White Hopkinson
Cornelia Conway Felton Horsford
Katherine Horsford
Alberta Manning Houghton
Arria Sargent Dixwell Howe
Lois Lilley Howe
Bertha Morton Howland
George Harvey Hull
Byron Satterlee Hurlbut
Eda Woolson Hurlbut
James Richard Jewett
Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett
Ethel Robinson Jones
Wallace St. Clair Jones
George Frederick Kendall
Margaret Crowninshield Kent
Norton Adams Kent
Justine Houghton Kershaw
Anna Read Lamber
William Coolidge Lane
Maud Adela Lawson
Thomas Wolcott Little
Flora Virginia Livingston
Alice Mary Longfellow
Joseph Lovejoy
Natalie Holden Lovejoy
Abbott Lawrence Lowell
Elizabeth MacFarlane
William Mackintosh Macnair
Emma Endicott Marean
Georgie Maria Marsters
David Thompson Watson McCord
Charles John McIntire
Herbert Bruce McIntire
John Douglas Merrill
Dorothea Foote Merriman
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Josiah Byram Millett
Emma Maria Cutter Mitchell
Alice Manton Morgan
Valma Maria Morse
Emma Frances Munroe
Arthur Boylston Nichols
Gertrude Fuller Nichols
Henry Atherton Nichols
John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Albert Perley Norris
Margaret Norton
James Atkins Noyes
Thomas Francis O'Malley
James Leonard Paine
Mary Woolson Paine
Louisa Phillips Parker

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

John Simpson Penman
Clarence Henry Poor, Jr.
Arthur Kingsley Porter
John Lyman Porter
Lucy Wallace Porter
Alfred Claghorn Potter
David Thomas Pottinger
Roscoe Pound
Harry Seaton Rand
Mabel Rena Mawhinney Rand
*Helen Leah Reed
Willard Reed
William Bernard Reid
Fred Norris Robinson
Margaret Brooks Robinson
James Hardy Ropes
Gertrude Swan Runkle
John Cornelius Runkle
Paul Joseph Sachs
Mary Ware Sampson
Eleanor Whitney Davis Sanger (L)
Carolyn Huntington Saunders
*Grace Owen Scudder
Winthrop Saltonstall Scudder
Francis Webber Sever
Alice Durant Smith
Willard Hatch Sprague
*Ellery Stedman
Genevieve Stearns
Grace Williamson Stedman
John Hubbard Sturgis
Helen Grace Olmstead Swan
William Donnison Swan
John Houghton Taylor
Joseph Gilbert Thorp
*Sarah Moody Toppan
Alfred Marston Tozzer
Eleanor Gray Tudor (L)
Bertha Hallowell Vaughan
Charles Peter Vosburgh
Maude Batchelder Vosburgh
Robert Walcott
Grace Reed Walden
Henry Bradford Washburn
Frederica Davis Watson
*Edith Forbes Webster
Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster
Sarah Cordelia Fisher Wellington
Alice Merrill White
Fanny Gott White
Horatio Stevens White
§Moses Perkins White
William Richardson Whittemore
Theodore Willard
Olive Swan William
Samuel Williston
George Grafton Wilson
John William Wood, Jr.
George Grier Wright

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Gardner Weld Allen
*Oscar Fayette Allen
Hollis Russell Bailey
Mary Persis Bailey
Elizabeth French Bartlett
Joseph Gardner Bartlett
Elvira Brewster Collier
Marion Brown Fessenden
Francis Apthorp Foster
Anna Lyman Gray
Eliza Mason Hoppin
Rysse Gilman Houghton (L)
Ernest Lovering
Phillippe Belknap Marcou
Bradford Hendrick Peirce
Lillian Clark Richardson
Phillip Leffingwell Spalding
Mary Lee Ware

* Deceased § Resigned (L) Life Member

HONORARY MEMBER

James Ford Rhodes

BY-LAWS

I. Corporate Name

THE name of this corporation shall be "The Cambridge Historical Society."

II. Object

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, or procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. Regular Membership

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. Limit of Regular Membership

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. Honorary Membership

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. Associate Membership

Any person who is neither a resident of, nor has a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, but is either a native, or

formerly had a residence or a usual place of business there for at least five years, shall be eligible to associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. Seal

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent.*

VIII. Officers

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. President and Vice-Presidents

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. Secretary

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the

Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. Treasurer

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. Curator

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. Council

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. Meetings

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of April and October of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. Quorum

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. Fees

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. Resignation of Membership

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. Dissolution

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XIX. Disposition of Property upon Dissolution

Upon dissolution of the Society, all its collections and other property shall pass to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, in trust for the following purposes, to wit:

1. To place all the books and manuscripts of the Society in the University Library so that they shall at all times be accessible for consultation and study.

2. To place the other collections of the Society in some building where they will be safe and accessible, so far as possible; or if they cannot do so, to transfer such other collections to the Cambridge Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, or such other fit educational institution as will hold them in trust for the citizens of Cambridge.

If the President and Fellows of Harvard College shall decline this trust,

then the property of the Society upon its dissolution shall pass on the same terms to the City of Cambridge, to be administered by the trustees of the Cambridge Public Library

XX. Amendment of By-Laws

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XX

PROCEEDINGS

For the Years 1927, 1928, 1929

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1934

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SEVENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Twenty-second Annual Meeting

THE Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held at the house of Richard H. Dana, 113 Brattle Street, at 8 P.M., January 25, 1927. Nearly eighty persons were present.

President Emerton called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The Secretary read his annual report, with that of the Council.

Voted to accept the same and refer to the Editor for printing.

The Curator exhibited and described several recent gifts to the Society.

The Treasurer read his annual report, with the certificate of the Auditor, Mr. Beale.

Voted to accept the same and refer as above.

The Auditor made a further report concerning the "Life Membership Fund" in the Cambridge Savings Bank. From a pencil memorandum in the bank book it appears that the unidentified deposit of $100 in 1917 was towards printing the Index to the Cambridge Proprietors' Records prepared by Mrs. Gozzaldi. He recommended that this sum, which with its interest now amounts to about $145, be set apart as a special fund for that object. The withdrawal of this deposit, which has been regarded as making good the two $50 fees received in 1923 and not deposited, would be very nearly met by permanently includ-

ing the unclassified deposit made in 1913 of $71.28, with its accumulated interest, in the fund, which could then be considered a true Life Membership Fund, and have its interest drawn and used every year.

Voted that these recommendations be referred to the Council for action.

For the Nominating Committee, Mr. Bailey reported the following nominations for

OFFICERS FOR 1927

President	Ephraim Emerton
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
	William Coolidge Lane
	Robert Walcott
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder
Treasurer	George Grier Wright
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Council: the above and	
Joseph Henry Beale	Prescott Evarts
Stoughton Bell	John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Frank Gaylord Cook	James Leonard Paine

Ballots were distributed and the chair appointed Messrs. Briggs and Cook as tellers, who reported fifty-nine votes cast for the above, whereupon the chair declared them duly elected.

Under general business Mr. Walcott, for the committee on the change of name to the "Longfellow Bridge," reported that a fresh bill for that purpose had been introduced in the present Legislature, and that a hearing upon it would be held before the Committee on Metropolitan Affairs on Friday the twenty-eighth instant, which he urged all members to attend. On motion of Mr. Beale it was

Voted that the chair appoint a committee from the members present to attend said hearing with authority to speak for the Society.

Mr. Walcott also, for the committee to secure the underwriting of the publication of the Index to Paige's *History of*

Cambridge, reported that about one-half of the necessary $2,000 has been pledged in amounts from $25 to $100. On motion of Mr. Beale

Voted that the President appoint a committee to wait on the Mayor and City Council to see if they will take two hundred copies for distribution by the city; also that the Council of the Society be empowered to subscribe for copies to distribute among the members and that the underwriting committee proceed in accordance with the above.

The President then announced the topic of the evening to be the Cambridge artist and writer, Washington Allston. He introduced as the first speaker Professor PAUL JOSEPH SACHS, Associate Director of the Fogg Museum of Art, who read a detailed and critical discussion of Allston as a painter, illustrated with many lantern slides, comparing his work with the Italian School, etc.

After a short recess Mr. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA spoke informally on Allston as a man of letters, and read extracts from his poems.

In connection with the subject there was exhibited a number of relics of Allston, the property of Mr. R. H. Dana.

The meeting adjourned at 10.15 P.M. for light refreshments.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

THE REGULAR SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at 8 P.M., on April 26, 1927, at the residence of Miss Bertha Hallowell Vaughan, 57 Garden Street. About thirty-five members were present. President Emerton presided.

The minutes of the annual meeting were read and allowed.

In the absence of the Curator, the President read his list of recent gifts and accessions.

The President also announced the successful passage of the legislative bill changing the name of the "Cambridge Bridge" to the "Longfellow Bridge." The pen used by Governor Fuller in signing this bill has been presented to our member, Miss Longfellow.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE, who read a paper on "Some Cambridge Reformers of the Eighties."

At the conclusion of the paper the meeting adjourned for light refreshments at 9.30 P.M.

SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY and their friends were entertained at a garden party by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Waldo Forbes, at Gerry's Landing, at 4.30 P.M., on Saturday, June 4, 1927.

The President, after a few words of greeting and of appreciation for the hospitality of the hosts of the day, gave some of his recollections of Cambridge of sixty years ago. Other members also gave reminiscences of the same period.

EIGHTIETH MEETING

THE REGULAR AUTUMN MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at 8 P.M., on Tuesday, October 25, 1927, at the house of Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, 25 Reservoir Street. About sixty members were present. Professor Emerton presided.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and allowed. The Acting Secretary also reported concerning matters of general interest that had come before the Council.

The President stated that this was the first meeting of the Society since the death of Mr. Batchelder on June 10, and called on Rev. Prescott Evarts to read the resolutions prepared by a Committee of the Council, consisting of Mr. Evarts and Professor Beale. The resolutions follow:

In the death of Mr. Samuel Francis Batchelder, the Cambridge Historical Society is conscious of the very great loss it has sustained, and mourns the death of a friend and benefactor.

There was no member of the Society more deeply concerned in its welfare or more efficient in promoting its interests. The Council relied greatly upon his judgment; and to his resourceful mind and industry the Society owes much of the interest and value of its public meetings.

Although he had been Secretary for but eleven years, his membership counted from the beginning, and his devoted support was continuous.

Besides certain notable papers which he contributed to the Proceedings of the Society, Mr. Batchelder was recognized as a diligent student and interesting narrator of many local incidents in the history of Old Cambridge and of the university. In a picturesque style, enlivened by a humor which was characteristic of him, he embodied the results of his painstaking research and discriminating selection.

Among many interests and companionships, both literary and social, in which he figured conspicuously, we his associates are grateful that he was able to give in such generous measure to building up and sustaining the work of the Cambridge Historical Society.

Recognizing his valuable public services we cannot but remember the personal friendship and the pleasant companionship which resulted from our association with Mr. Batchelder in the meetings of the

Council and of the Society. We have lost a friend; and the Society mourns with us in his death the loss of an honored and greatly valued member.

The Curator exhibited a few items received since the last meeting.

Mrs. GOZZALDI read a short account of the house, recently pulled down, that stood on the west corner of Brattle and Church Streets, and occupied at one time by Richard Henry Dana, Sr., and later by Dr. Francis Dana.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Rev. WILLIAM M. MACNAIR, who read a paper on "One Hundred Years of Church Life, A Brief History of the Prospect Congregational Church in Cambridge."

Mr. Eliot and others expressed interest in the suggestion of Judge Walcott for an appropriate tablet to be placed on the Longfellow Bridge and after discussion it was

Voted to request the Council to consider the matter and report at the next meeting.

The meeting then adjourned for light refreshments.

EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Twenty-third Annual Meeting

THE Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the residence of Professor and Mrs. James R. Jewett, 44 Francis Avenue, at 8 p.m., January 24, 1928. Thirty-five members and a few guests were present. President Emerton presided.

The records of the meetings of June 4 and October 25 were read and accepted.

The Acting Secretary read the Annual Report of the Secretary and Council and it was referred to the Council for publication in the Proceedings.

In the unfortunate absence of Mr. Wright, Mr. Beale read the report of the Treasurer, with the certificate of the Auditor, and it was accepted and referred as above to the Council.

Mr. George C. Deane, for the Nominating Committee, reported the following nominations for

OFFICERS FOR 1928

President	Robert Walcott
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
	William Coolidge Lane
	Stoughton Bell
Secretary	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	George Grier Wright
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Council: the above and	
Joseph Henry Beale	Frank Gaylord Cook
Rev. Prescott Evarts	John Taylor Gilman Nichols
James Leonard Paine	Carolyn Huntington Saunders

Ballots were distributed and the chair appointed Messrs. Lane and Deane as tellers, who reported thirty-five votes cast for the above, and the chair declared them duly elected.

Professor Emerton expressed his pleasure in having had the privilege of serving the Society, and in particular his association with and appreciation of the services of Mr. Batchelder, to whom the Society was so deeply indebted.

Mr. GEORGE G. WRIGHT's paper on "Early Cambridge Newspapers" was then read, in part, by Professor EMERTON. A volume containing copies of early Cambridge newspapers belonging to Mr. Wright was exhibited. Mr. Lane mentioned the printing, in Stoughton Hall, during the Revolution, of certain issues of the *Essex Gazette*.

Voted to send Mr. Wright word expressing the appreciation of the Society for his valuable paper and their sympathy for him in his illness. The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

EIGHTY-SECOND MEETING

THE REGULAR SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at 8 P.M., on April 24, 1928, at the residence of Miss Alice M. Longfellow, Craigie House. About sixty members were present. President Walcott presided.

The minutes of the Annual Meeting were read and accepted.

On the recommendation of the Council, due notice having been given in the call for the meeting, it was

Voted that Article IV of the By-Laws be amended to read as follows:

"The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and twenty-five."

The Secretary read a notice received from Mr. Joseph M. Stokes, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the City of Cambridge, dated April 16, 1928, for a public hearing at City Hall on April 26 on the proposed change of the names of certain streets in Cambridge, Boston, and Somerville, to Lindbergh Avenue. The streets in Cambridge that would be affected by this proposal are Main Street from Longfellow Bridge to Kendall Square; Broadway from Kendall Square to Hampshire Street and Hampshire Street in its entire length to the Somerville line.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Professor ANDRE KOSZUL, of the University of Strassburg, Exchange Professor at Harvard University, who read a paper on "Longfellow and France."

At the conclusion of the paper the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY and friends were entertained at 4.30 P.M., on Friday, June 15, 1928, by Rev. and Mrs. Ernest J. Dennen, at 5 Follen Street, about forty persons being present.

The gathering at first assembled within doors and the President spoke upon the purposes of an historical society and the special value of the type of paper he was to read, entitled "Reminiscences of Follen Street," written by Miss MARIA BOWEN. Miss Bowen was present and had brought to the meeting twenty-three pictures (mostly small photographs) of houses and scenes on Follen Street. These she presented to the Society.

Mr. Stoughton Bell read the following resolutions on the death of Mr. George G. Wright:

George G. Wright, a charter member of this society, passed away on Sunday, May 20, 1928, after a long and severe illness.

Mr. Wright was born in Cambridge October 27, 1848, the son of William and Ellen Wright. His family consisted of three brothers and one sister, all of whom were educated in the public schools. Immediately after his graduation from the Cambridge High School in 1867, he became a clerk for Gilman Brothers, wholesale druggists in Boston. After three years spent in their employ he entered the grain business with his father on Mt. Auburn Street in Cambridge. In 1902 he sold this business and engaged in real estate, having under his charge many and valuable properties. His judgment, always good, proved of the greatest value to himself and to the many who sought his advice on real estate values.

His sterling integrity and high purpose were quickly recognized but in spite of the urgent demands of his fellow-citizens he refused to accept political office, preferring to give his time and thought in an unofficial capacity to the city which he loved. He did however, in 1903, accept a position as sinking fund commissioner, becoming chairman some sixteen years ago, a position which he continued to hold until his last illness forced his resignation.

No organization in Cambridge that he felt could contribute to his advancement was without his active support. In many of them he held high office; to them he gave freely of his time, thought and work.

He was deeply interested in civil service reform, having been treasurer of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association for twenty-eight years, until it was merged with the Massachusetts Association. He was always a firm believer in non-partisan elections for city officials. To him perhaps more than to any other was due the organization and the continued activity of Library Hall Association. For eleven years he acted as clerk, writing many of the articles which appeared in its campaign paper. During those eleven years ninety-five per cent of the candidates endorsed by the organization were elected.

Mr. Wright was a charter member of the Harvard Square Business Men's Association, its president for seven years and on his retirement in 1925 he was given a loving cup and made its first and only president emeritus.

For six years he served as treasurer of the National Municipal League. He was a charter member of the Colonial Club, the Longfellow Memorial Association, active in Mt. Olivet Lodge, A. F. & A. M., the Cambridge Club, the Newtowne Club, contribution member of Post 56, G. A. R., honorary member of Cambridge Battalion, M. V. M., as well as treasurer of Christ Church, Cambridge.

Mr. Wright was a keen lover of nature and for many years he made it a practice to spend one day in each week in the open. He would take the train or trolley car and ride out into the country, where he would spend the day walking through the woods and fields.

He was much interested in this society and in fact in the history of anything pertaining to Cambridge. By his will he left it all his books and papers on Cambridge. His collection of Cambridge newspapers is probably unequalled. During his long connection with this society he contributed to its meetings two papers: one on "The Schools of Cambridge, 1800–1870" and the other on "Early Cambridge Newspapers." These in addition to six years' service as Treasurer.

His books on the White Mountains, of which he was very fond, he left to the Cambridge Public Library.

These and his other public bequests are typical of the man: two free beds in the Cambridge Hospital, one for men and one for women, "preferably for the unskilled laborers," and a fund for social service work, a gift to Christ Church for missionary work and the Sunday School, a gift to the Holy Ghost Hospital, to the Boston Floating Hospital, to the Cambridge Home for Aged People and to Harvard College "in recognition of service rendered from the library."

When Mr. Wright retired as active president of the Harvard Square Business Men's Association he put in words some of the sentiments which were behind his every act on behalf of this and the other organ-

izations of the city and of his fellow-men for whom he had toiled so hard. He then said, "Pride in Cambridge should be the keynote of every organization within its borders — a pride which counts not the cost, which knows no limit of time or labor, never losing sight of the object to be attained, the prosperity of our city. Without this love and pride little advance can be made in any direction — with it all things are possible. Believe me, you will find when life's journey is nearing its close more satisfaction in the work you have done to benefit and improve the community in which you have lived than you can possibly derive from any amount of money. The wealth may vanish but nothing can deprive you of the memory of past efforts to benefit others."

What a wealth of memories George Wright must have had and what a debt of gratitude we owe to him. In partial recognition of this debt and of the sense of loss which we the members of the Cambridge Historical Society have suffered

Be it resolved that a copy of these minutes be spread upon the records and a copy thereof be sent to the members of his family.

Miss Bowen's paper was then read by the President.

At the conclusion of the paper, the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

EIGHTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE FALL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at 8 P.M., on Tuesday, October 23, 1928, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Osgood, 48 Fayerweather Street. Some forty-five members and friends were present.

The records of the meetings of April 24 and June 15 were read and accepted.

The Curator made a short report about the collection of Cambridge documents and related material received from the estate of George G. Wright.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. GEORGE F. DOW, of Topsfield, Massachusetts, who read a paper on "The Value of Ancient Houses to a Community," illustrated with many lantern slides.

At the conclusion of the paper, the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

EIGHTY-FIFTH MEETING

Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting

THE Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, January 22, 1929, at 8 P.M., in the Atkinson Room, Fay House, 10 Garden Street. Some eighty-five members and guests were present as guests of Radcliffe College. In the absence of President Robert Walcott on account of illness, Vice-President Stoughton Bell presided.

The records of the meetings of April 24 and June 15 were read and accepted.

The Secretary read the annual report of the Secretary and Council.

Voted it be accepted. Mr. Beale read the annual report for the Treasurer, Mr. Sprague; with the certificate of the Auditor, Mr. Beale.

Voted to accept the same.

Mr. Bell made a report upon the Hicks House, stating that subscriptions were still needed.

Mr. Paine for the Nominating Committee reported the following nominations:

OFFICERS FOR 1929

President	Robert Walcott
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
	William Coolidge Lane
	Stoughton Bell
Secretary	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	Willard Hatch Sprague
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Council: the above and	
Joseph Henry Beale	John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Frank Gaylord Cook	James Leonard Paine
Rev. Prescott Evarts	Carolyn Huntington Saunders

Voted that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the nominations as reported. The Secretary cast the ballot, and the Chair declared the officers as named duly elected.

Mr. Bell then presented Mrs. GEORGE PIERCE BAKER who read a paper of keen interest and value on "Fay House and Its Occupants."[1]

After the paper the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

[1] This paper, much enlarged, was published in 1929 by the Harvard University Press, with the title *The Story of Fay House* (8vo. ix+136 pages. 9 illustrations; bibliography; index. $2.00.)

EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

THE SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at the residence of Alexander H. Bill, Esq., 45 Highland Street, on Tuesday, April 30, 1929, at eight o'clock. The President called the meeting to order and called attention to the painting on the wall of Mr. Bill's famous ancestor, General Stark. The paper of the evening was read by Dr. EDMUND H. STEVENS of Cambridge, on "Cambridge Physicians I Have Known."

Sixty members and guests were present. Adjourned at 10.30 P.M., after refreshments.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH MEETING

THE GARDEN PARTY was held on June 21, 1929, by the courtesy of Mrs. C. E. Fraser, at the John Hicks House, corner of South and Boylston Streets, which the tenants, notwithstanding their very recent arrival in it and present moving to Gloucester for the summer, had arranged most tastefully and in perfect order. Typewritten slips in every room described clearly the interesting features or furnishings.

The President called the meeting to order and stated that the conditions prescribed by Harvard College had been met, though not without a disproportionately large subscription by the Frasers, which was regrettable.

He then called upon Professor Beale for a brief statement of the aims and activities of the Cambridge Tercentenary Committee. In this, much interest was displayed.

It was *voted* to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting and to send a message of affection to our Secretary who has labored this past year so faithfully and efficiently on our business and is now at Trudeau in the Adirondacks.

Refreshments were then served and the house thrown open for inspection. Seventy-two persons were present. Invitations were sent to all who had contributed toward the preservation of the house. Pleasure was expressed in that the wording of the stone marker, placed in front of the building and moved with it, was such that it is still truthful. Adjourned at six o'clock.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

THE FALL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at the residence of Arthur B. Nichols, Esq., Garden Terrace, on Tuesday, October 22, 1929, at eight o'clock. Fifty-two were present. The President referred to the absence of our devoted secretary, Mr. Briggs, at Trudeau in the Adirondacks, where he is recovering from a tuberculous attack. Mr. Thomas F. O'Malley was appointed Secretary *pro tem* and read the records of the two previous meetings, which were approved. As the speaker of the evening he then read a paper on the history of North Cambridge, based on a communication to the *Cambridge Chronicle* in 1927, giving an interesting account of the cattle pens and Porter's Hotel, which he stated was operated after the days of the Porter House to which President Kirkland repaired and approved its flip, as quoted by Samuel A. Eliot, Esq., at the last meeting of the Cambridge Club. At the end of the reading, Mr. O'Malley answered various questions illustrating his extensive knowledge of old Cambridge history. Light refreshments were then served and the meeting adjourned.

SOME CAMBRIDGE REFORMERS OF THE EIGHTIES

OR

CAMBRIDGE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CLEVELAND DEMOCRACY IN MASSACHUSETTS

BY PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE

Read April 26, 1927

MY presence here is evidence of the survival in your esteemed President of that Victorian virtue, liberalism, which characterized the period I propose to explore. Without that saving grace he would never have allowed a paper dealing with Reform and modern Reform at that, to be read before this Society, whose Proceedings have hitherto maintained an antiquarian and local character. I would contend, however, for a moment that his gracious decision was justified by the nature of the case; for I would plead for the antiquity of the recent and for the local flavor imparted to a movement national in scope by the prominence of the Cambridge reformers. If it shall also appear that the reformers of the eighties were marked by the peculiarly Victorian quality of liberalism, then I think you will agree that this period is worth the attention of the present generation of Babbitts and Menckens, Hundred Per Centers and Sentimentalists.

To show that the eighties have already receded into history, one must first dispel the illusion that events are to be regarded as *recent* or refute the devastating charge that the eighties are *contemporary* merely because some persons then active are still here and active amongst us. At Bunker Hill, in 1825, Daniel Webster addressed the survivors of the Revolution with the words, "Venerable men, you have come down to us from a former generation," etc. I should hesitate to apply that expression to this audience, yet the event which he then recalled to the veterans was scarcely more remote than that to which we now

look back; and of the two intervals, if each be measured, as they should be, in terms of the accumulation of human experience, how much greater is that which has elapsed since 1880! For the saying "Better twenty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" applies to America and recent times in multiplied ratio. It was the comprehension of this non-static condition that distinguished the reformers of the eighties from the stand-patters.

Charles Eliot Norton, writing to Samuel G. Ward (in 1900), said, "I quite agree that this is the best century to have lived in since time began, if for nothing else than this — that we all of us who have lived in it, have lived so much longer in the same space of years than any one before us could do." The effect of this acceleration in modern times brings a twofold enhancement of our interest today in the eighties. First, as we said, it removes them rapidly from the area of the contemporary; and secondly, the nearness of the eighties to the Civil War caused their stage to be peopled at the same time by a generation whose whole training had occurred since the war and also by a considerable group whose ideas and habits had been formed before that crisis. For a time the latter prevailed. Through all the council halls of the land stalked the spectre of the war, paralyzing the powers of the councillors and preventing them from giving their attention to the problems, new and unconnected with the war, which were pressing for solution. This interlacing of the standards of conduct, social ideals, and political prejudices of two generations is always of intense interest and perplexity to the historian. It is scarcely too much to assert that the chief work of reformers in the eighties consisted in releasing American political life from the dead hand of Civil War memories, issues, and prejudices.

From a political point of view, the central event in the period 1880–96 is the so-called "Return of the Democratic Party," both in national and in Massachusetts politics. Yet this expression does not go to the heart of the matter. As a political party the Democrats cannot be said to have "returned" to any such dominating position as they had occupied before 1860, for they failed to impress upon the national life any of the policies for which they as a party have stood in contradistinction to the Republicans. Nevertheless the years 1874, 1882, 1884, and 1892

seemed revolutionary to the old political leaders. A new element seemed to have entered into the political compound which upset their calculations. Certainly in Massachusetts the significance of the period lies in the expression, in organized political action, of the reforms or discontents engendered by the political situation disclosed in the preceding decade, and in the social and economic revolution which had taken place with the displacement of native by foreign labor in our industrial centers. That this revolution was attributed both to Democrats and to Independents is just. Neither could have succeeded without the other, yet the achievements of the period, such as they are, were really non-partisan and for that reason redound to the credit of reformers and independency. On the other hand, the Democratic party organization, in the hands of its progressive wing, provided the sheer voting power necessary for the election of liberals and for the passage of liberal legislation.

This political revolution began in the early sporadic revolts within both the Republican and the Democratic parties; the one springing from a public conscience shocked by the conditions in the Grant regime, the other rising from a newly self-conscious class, discontented with their failure through strikes to win their share of the profits of industry and led by radical agitators to seek relief in panaceas such as Greenbackism. The uprising in the Republican party appeared as Independent movements in 1874 and 1882; in 1884 it became known as Mugwumpism, and its adherents merged with the rejuvenated Democratic party to form what we call Cleveland Democracy. The revolt in the Democratic ranks was a radical wing movement in 1868 and 1878, expressed by Greenbackers. It acquired sufficient momentum under the clever guidance of Ben Butler to secure control of the Democratic party machinery in 1882 and, taking advantage of the stagnation to which the Republican party had been reduced by the Old Guard, to elect Butler governor. Butler kept control of the Democratic organization until 1884. His organization collapsed at the convention which nominated Cleveland. That left the way open for the conservative element to recover control just in time to welcome to their ranks the Independents who were being "disciplined" and expatriated by the Old Guard Republicans. The real test of the political

sagacity of these Democrats came when they supported the younger progressive leaders and undertook to coax the Butler Labor Radicals back into line without losing support of their new allies, the Independents. The collapse of this radical revolution in the Democratic party in the East would seem to a modern "Liberal" of the *New Republic* or *Nation* brand to mark the end of this paper, since the men and measures I shall consider were, like all Victorian liberals, relatively conservative. At any rate the rescue of the Democratic party machinery from the hands of Butlerites blinded the Democratic leaders to the depth of the social discontent which underlay Greenbackism, so that they sadly neglected the storm warnings from the West and South where the Farmers' Alliance and Populists kept up the rebellion after the Massachusetts Greenbackers had submitted to the leadership of the Liberals.

Through these steps in the evolution of a new Democratic party in Massachusetts, there runs a curious blending of several movements which had for their devotees almost the religious fervor of crusades. Thus we have the prohibition and no-license movements, the Greenback-Labor party, the Civil Service Reform League, the Tariff Reform League, Single Taxers, Woman Suffragists, etc., and an undercurrent of apprehension concerning the relations of the public schools to the churches. The circumstances under which local, state, and national issues developed in Massachusetts and especially in Cambridge made the Cleveland Democracy the home — not always the happy home — of all these reforms. For that reason the story of the Cambridge reformers and the story of the Cleveland Democracy in Massachusetts are closely interwoven.

Explosive as many of these isms and policies were, their exponents could find a welcome in the Democratic party and could serve a useful part as auxiliaries in attacks upon the common enemy. So long as the Democratic party was in opposition, this policy of criticism made the alliance with critics such as Godkin, Curtis, Atkinson, Bradford, Schurz, and Henry George worth while. But when the party undertook the responsibilities of office, whether local, state, or national, the heterogeneous character of its components became painfully apparent. Socrates Cleveland found he had a whole harem of Xantippes.

Cambridge, we may say, oversubscribed its quota of cranks, but it supplied, along with its group of crusaders, some very level-headed organizers. The strategic position occupied, as I have pointed out, by the Old Line Democrats has a peculiar significance for this town, because of the prominence which several of its citizens had already gained in the Democratic party in the seventies. Such a one, for example, was Charles Theodore Russell, for years the leading Democratic Liberal in the Massachusetts Legislature. It is interesting to note how his party regularity opened a way for his son, William Eustis, to a brilliant and useful career. On the other hand it meant much to the good people of the old village that at just the time when their voting strength in the city was being outstripped by the recent immigrant element resident chiefly in the point and port, the Democratic party should rise to its opportunities, accept the aid and policies offered by the Mugwumps to support so admirable a man as Colonel Higginson, and in return put forward to win the Mugwump votes as a regular Democrat a candidate so able and so attractive as William E. Russell.

No picture of the town as it flourished in those days is intended, nor do I purpose to present a biographical sketch of the few men whom I have selected to exemplify the relation between Cambridge and the chief currents of American political life in the eighties. Only such aspects of their lives as bear specifically on what has interested me most in this period will be included. And if most attention is given to that one of the three who, in general estimation today, was the least eminent, it is because he was peculiarly the man of the times in that his career was made by the times and his all too brief public life was entirely included within this period, 1880–96.

First, as to the relation of the eighties to the past. Many sons of Cambridge might be named still active in the eighties who remembered Webster's seventh of March speech, who had spiritually stood by Garrison's side in the face of mobs in State Street, who had fought through the war and had fought even harder to lift the burden of humiliation which the scandals of the seventies brought upon the country. But no one of them illustrates the zeal of the abolitionist transferred to fight the battles of political reform in the eighties so well as Thomas

Wentworth Higginson. The glowing idealism of the slavery struggle was not dimmed in his breast when the battle flags were furled. Nor was his humanitarian impulse for securing to the black man the rights of a citizen allowed to blind his eyes to the manner in which that issue of race prejudice and war rancor was used as a cloak by the managers of the dominant party to cover personal deficiencies and party ambitions. Without abandoning for a moment the crusade to secure the negro justice, Colonel Higginson was yet alert to see the menace of the new problems arising out of the economic and social reconstruction both North and South. The eighties exhibited the psychological phenomenon which our publicists call "post-war reaction." The optimism prevailing at the close of the war was evidenced by Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1867, but by 1880 many observers were pessimistic about the chances of democracy recovering from the reaction which the war had brought to the earlier idealism. O. B. Frothingham comments thus: "After the abolition of slavery everything seemed possible in America. All questions found an easy answer. The energy of the people had not subsided and might be counted on as adequate to the severest tasks. Candor compels the admission that the enthusiastic prediction has not been fulfilled."

Such progress as there is, he says, is not due to democracy so much as to the humanitarian spirit. The tendency of democracy alone is down; it requires positive personal effort to counteract it, but democracy offers an opportunity and challenge to such effort.

It was this opportunity which Higginson seized with eagerness. His adaptability to the new environment and the new problems was remarkable.

As Dr. Crothers said in a memoir read before this society, "Almost all the men of Colonel Higginson's generation found great difficulty in adapting themselves to life after the anti-slavery conflict was over. Many of them became bitter and disappointed."

Not so with Higginson. His "Cheerful Yesterdays" is well-entitled. It reflects the optimism and buoyancy of the man. On the other hand it seems that at that time, 1880, he knew no "yesterdays" but was throwing himself into the life of the day

as if the new problems were the first he had encountered and to them could be brought the fresh vigor of a young man. He was as ready to enlist in the civic battle as he had been in the military. Nor did he now hesitate because the men with whom he would thus be associated were of a different race or creed or color. Still further his wonderful sense of humor, his lack of self-conceit and self-consciousness made it possible for him to associate with the rank and file of politicians without embarrassment to himself or to them. His service in the General Court and his valiant contest to rescue this congressional district from the Republican machine candidate paved the way for Leopold Morse and for Sherman Hoar. His comment on his experiences in the Massachusetts General Court is significant. In 1880, he says, there still remained a certain respect for the educated man in politics. The exception was the case where one educated man tried to cast a slur on another by calling him a scholar in politics. Butler did this especially when campaigning against Long (because the latter had been so unfortunate as to translate the "Iliad" while he was Speaker of the House). Among some of the measures in which he was particularly interested were those to abolish the requirement of reading the Bible in the schools; to abolish the poll tax requirement for the franchise; to remove the stigma on the atheist witness in court; and to secure woman suffrage. These measures point to what seems to me perhaps the most remarkable feature of Colonel Higginson's title to a place among the reformers of the eighties, namely, his progressive liberality. Evidence of this progressiveness is seen in Higginson's appreciation of the demand for new issues instead of the old. In 1884 he said,

"The present work of young men in politics, for this presidential year, is first to settle the fact definitely that the issues of the war are ended; and then to decree that all material questions — tariff, banks, everything — shall be held secondary to those questions which touch the national honor and integrity, at home and abroad. The men under thirty are right in their instinctive convictions that new occasions teach new duties. It is now a matter of comparative insignificance what position a man takes or took on the Fugitive Slave Law, or the Dred Scott decision, or even on the Civil War itself; it is a matter of momentous importance whether he stands for good government and national honor."

Again in 1884 he says,

"It is a fact patent to all that we are just now witnessing such a disintegration of parties as has not occurred since 1860; never since then have there been four conspicuous candidates for the presidency in the field. It has been noted that this disruption is very largely the work of young men; and that in the 'Independent' party of bolting Republicans this is peculiarly manifest. . . . While the Judge and the Senator are uttering their old-fashioned partisan appeals to the people to stand by the party of their youth, they behold their sons and nephews hard at work organizing bolters and distributing documents in behalf of revolution, which is, in turn, the party of their youth. It is vain to raise the old war cries; they have lost their power. The young men read the proceedings of the two national conventions at Chicago, and they find no perceptible difference. . . . The real difference between the two parties is in a tradition, and to that tradition the young men of the country are now becoming indifferent because the source of the tradition is now removed twenty years. But there is a tradition older than either of the parties — that of honesty and courage in public administration. To this, fortunately for us, young men are never indifferent; and in their search after it they apply tests of their own, and cease to be partisan."

"There is another point at which young voters tend to differ from older ones. They are less likely to assume that virtue is the monopoly of either party."

". . . Seventy years ago nearly every horse thief was a Democrat, because he had a strong reason for wishing to be on the side of the administration. We have now a similar class of culprits, but they strike for more valuable booty than horses; they are star route contractors and navy speculators. They are in the Republican party for the same reason that made the horse thieves of 1814 Democrats — from a desire to belong to the party in power."

Although it was as a leader of movements of moral reform that Colonel Higginson won the greatest renown and the largest following, he was also one of the few who were able to appreciate the importance of and to lend the aid of his humanitarian reputation to another and less spectacular kind of reform, one for which Cambridge was on the whole more distinguished than the other. I mean the diagnosis of political ills, the patient study and experiment in a coldly scientific spirit of the ways and means of public administration, and the persistent effort to secure the

acceptance by politicians of policies based on sound principles of political science, and finally the practicing of these principles when burdened with the responsibilities of office. Although it was Charles W. Eliot who was one of the first to recognize the need of this work, yet Higginson was most helpful in giving his support to the younger men who strove to carry these reforms through. His name meant much to such men when they went before the voters to secure election on a platform of tariff reform, sound money, and the merit system in the civil service.

Few of Higginson's contemporaries in either party would give heed to this sort of reform. From the party intrenched in power little progressive action can be expected until the opposition forces it to do something more than point with pride to its record. From the Democrats as yet nothing practical had come. Eager as they were to find an issue on which to turn their opponents out, they failed miserably to adopt a firm policy on any of the problems of vital interest to the country but insisted on hugging to their bosoms the disappointed hopes of 1876, continued to ring the changes on Jeffersonian and Jacksonian rights of states and of individuals and to arraign the Republicans for maladministration.

Before the country could be brought to a realization of its problems and the approach to their solution, two things therefore were necessary: first, to train the rising generation to make a scientific study of the ills of the state and to work persistently for their amelioration; second, to divert the attention of the masses from the outworn sentimental issues of the war which the politicians were still flaunting before them, to rouse their interest in the real issues of the present, popularize those issues through the medium of a winning personality, and strive to harmonize the intellectuals and the labor group in support of a definite program of reform.

Both of these tasks required time, but by 1880 both were under way. It is to the glory of Cambridge and of Harvard that they together provided men and inspiration to accomplish both in so far as so Utopian a program can ever be said to be accomplished.

The whole tradition of American political life was opposed to a scientific approach to the problems of government. It is not

surprising therefore that the impetus for this work should come from abroad, not directly but through the training in European methods of research first in literature and then in history and political science, which a growing stream of young Americans brought back to our colleges in the late seventies. It was largely through the influence of President Eliot that Harvard took a leading part in this work. He had already brought Charles Dunbar from the editorial office of the *Advertiser* to give the first systematic course in economics; and he encouraged the younger men like Taussig, who returned from his German university to take up his work here. Henry Adams headed a group of historical students in graduate studies leading to the Ph.D. degree, then new in American universities. It was not only by precept but also by example that Eliot aided the study of political science, for he early threw himself into the reform movements and by his commanding power of analysis and statement exerted a profound effect on the *method* of dealing in public addresses with social and economic problems. In this he formed part of that great group of liberal writers and speakers whose essays were sought by the monthly magazines in increasing numbers as the editors correctly gauged the demand of the public for careful analysis of public questions rather than fiction, poetry, or literary criticism. But much as Eliot and Harvard contributed to the study of political problems in the seventies and early eighties, their teaching was limited in its direct effect to comparatively few. Politicians of neither party were interested. They demanded a demonstration of the practical working of these schemes in actual politics. Scientific approach to problems in government meant nothing to them. Their questions were, "Could the boys be held in line without spoils? Would a state railroad commission actually give their constituents lower fares or better service? Would a merit system in the street department mean fewer jobs? or more pay?"

The second great need therefore was for some one to interpret the value of the reform theories to the masses and especially to the politicians. It took time to develop such men. Like most developments, it was the gradual work of many minds. The contributions were so various that it is at times hard to see the connection, yet there runs through all these reform movements

a general liberal progressivism, making of the many zealous advocates of apparently irreconcilable projects a single great brotherhood. This general reform atmosphere in Cambridge came to be summarized in the shibboleth "The Cambridge Idea." The part played by some sons of Cambridge in the movement which now develops is worth attention.

While the college was training its students in a new approach to social and economic problems, the citizens of Cambridge were developing a system of non-partisan municipal government which afforded ample opportunity for the assertion of reform measures and the contest of personal abilities entirely apart from membership in the major political parties and quite distinct from their platforms. Cambridge was an attractive town to such independent spirits as Lowell, Norton, and their New York friends, Curtis and Godkin. The latter made it his home from 1872 to 1874 and from his Cambridge fireside wrote the editorials in the "Nation" which fostered the Liberal Republicans in their revolt against Grant and the radical reconstruction policy. It was Godkin who roused Lowell from his academic retirement to become an ardent champion of Civil Service reform. From Cambridge in 1872 went President Eliot, along with Charles R. Codman and other Bostonians, to speak at the great dinner which the Liberals gave in New York to Carl Schurz. In the election that followed, many of them, those disappointed in not securing the nomination of their favorite, Charles Francis Adams, voted for Greeley and began their withdrawal from the party they had been brought up to revere. In 1874 when Henry Cabot Lodge, just graduated from Harvard, started the Commonwealth Club, James Barr Ames, Archibald M. Howe, and others from Cambridge joined him. The preamble they adopted read —

> "We, the undersigned citizens of Massachusetts, dissatisfied with the corruption which now prevails in politics, and convinced that this dissatisfaction is not confined to any political party or section of society but is shared by honest men alike, agree to form an association," etc. . . .

It is interesting to note that this club broke up shortly after a violent dispute over a resolution protesting against the inter-

ference of the United States Army in the organization of the Louisiana legislature. This Southern question proved a bone of contention between many reformers.

Members of the Commonwealth Club did valiant service in combating the Butler-Greenback movement. They issued a famous sheet called *The Broadside*, containing reports of speeches on sound money and on state finances. They bore testimony to the increasing interest in administrative reform in the seriousness with which they undertook to study the provisions of the new Boston city charter. Again in 1878 several members of this club now calling themselves "Young Republicans," among whom were Moorfield Storey, Roger Wolcott, J. W. Carter, George M. Towle, Benjamin Kimball, and Charles P. Bowditch, organized a most effective protest against Ben Butler's attempt to seize control of the Republican party in the state. The Young Republicans held a great meeting in Worcester, urging the party to support Hayes in his attempt to clean up the Civil Service by the removal of Butler's satellite, Simmons, from the Boston collectorship. Butler, defeated, went over to the Democratic party, tried to capture that, was opposed by Collins and the Old Line Democrats, and for the next three years split the party until his triumphant election as governor in November, 1882.

During these first years of the eighties the habit of "bolting" and of scratching and of independent voting was spreading in many parts of the country, to the great indignation and annoyance of the political bosses. Cambridge and Harvard College came to be regarded as the center of this cult of independency. Not only did the college teach Free Trade and Sound Money but it seemed to engender in its graduates an attitude of skepticism toward the party dogmas and a readiness to assert their own ideas so as to justify in the minds of many of the older statesmen the saying of Horace Greeley at an earlier date, "Of all horned cattle deliver me from the college graduate." On the other hand, the part taken by men of education and culture was far from satisfying the old-fashioned crusading reformer. In his famous Phi Beta Kappa oration in Cambridge in 1881, Wendell Phillips poured out his wrath upon the educated men who were careless of their political obligations. He said,

"Rarely in this country have scholarly men as a class joined in these great popular schools, in these social movements. . . . It is not so much that the people need us, they can do for themselves, . . . these agitations are the opportunities and means which God offers us to refine the taste, mould the character, lift the purpose, and educate the moral sense of the masses on whose intelligence and self-respect rests the state."

Academic Cambridge did not take this indictment calmly. Charles Eliot Norton quotes Longfellow's comment on this as "marvellous and delightful but preposterous from beginning to end." Curtis described it later as "unsparing censure of educated men as recreant to political progress." Phillips had the Cambridge and Harvard group especially in mind when he said,

"Scholars who play statesmen, and editors who masquerade as scholars, can waste much excellent anxiety that clerks shall get no office until they know the exact date of Caesar's assassination, as well as the latitude of Pekin and the Rule of Three. But while this crusade — the temperance movement — has been going on for sixty years . . . the scholars have given it nothing but a sneer."

At the dinner following, Norton records that President Eliot answered the orator's aspersions upon scholars with much spirit.

In the same year Harvard saw another gathering at which exactly the spirit which Phillips had condemned was in evidence. The city of Cambridge celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. Sanders Theatre was the scene of the formal exercises. Not a word of radicalism was uttered. Eyes were turned reverentially to the past. Congressman Chandler dismissed the serious currency problems before the country with the words, "We may well learn of our ancestors in monetary matters." President Eliot was introduced by Mayor Hall as "a young man who in 1868, as a member of the Common Council, might have risen to be alderman had he not been taken to be president." Eliot alone sounded a note of realism; though called to speak of the university city, he said, "Cambridge is a manufacturing town producing three aids to civilization — musical instruments, books, and soap." One reads the poems by Holmes and Everett, the oration by Higginson, without the least intimation that this city was just entering on a decade of strenuous political

life, facing problems of municipal development in water works, parks, new means of communication with Boston, lighting systems, and school building such as it had never dreamed of. In addition, Cambridge was to take a prominent part in that very crusade, the temperance movement, which Wendell Phillips had roundly scored its educated men for so long neglecting.

When, five years later, it came the turn of the college to celebrate its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, we find an entirely changed atmosphere in Sanders Theatre. In the place of Mayor Hall sat William E. Russell, not yet ten years out of college, already winning the commendation of his townsmen for his readiness to practice in the Cambridge government some of those principles of municipal administration which were being studied in the college. In place of a congressman notorious for his reactionary attitude toward reform, appeared a President elected by the votes of Independents on a reform platform with the slogan, "Public Office is a Public Trust." In behalf of the alumni, James Russell Lowell greeted this leader of the party opposed to that under which he had held office as Minister to the Court of St. James's. Expressing the warmest appreciation of President Cleveland's courageous course in office, he closed with the words of Seneca's pilot: "O Neptune, you may save me if you will; you may sink me if you will; but whatever happens, I shall keep my rudder true."

This eulogy of the Democratic chief drew public attention to the independent course Lowell had pursued. Although he would, at this period of his career, have been the last to include himself among the militant reformers, his attitude is singularly expressive of Cambridge and of the times.

In the eighties many quoted the *Biglow Papers* on the stump but no longer thought of their author as a political reformer. Lowell's early appreciation of Lincoln, when the Emancipator was still the underdog in his controversy with Congress, was now recalled when the author of the Commemoration Ode appeared as the defender of Cleveland against the attacks of spoilsmen on one hand and utopian civil service reformers on the other. John Boyle O'Reilly and Patrick A. Collins, who had condemned Lowell's Anglophile conduct as our minister at the

Court of St. James's, were now forced to applaud his speeches and verses in praise of their Democratic leader.

Lowell's discriminating support of the cause of reform represents the Victorian Liberal — not the modern partisan. His position was incomprehensible to the rank and file of voters. His fastidiousness produced an aloofness which made him unavailable for elective office, but his prestige in literary circles, especially in England, made his support of the Cleveland Democracy a matter of some moment.

The difference between the scene in Sanders Theatre in 1881 and that in 1886 roughly measures the progress of the reform movement in the state and city. In this time two exciting elections had occurred in which the champions of reform had had a chance to prove their mettle.

The congressional and state elections in the autumn of 1882 were full of interest for Cambridge. The redistricting of the state had put her in the same congressional district with Brookline, certain wards of Boston, Somerville, Watertown, Belmont, Waltham, Lexington, Burlington, and Woburn. Into the choice of a candidate to represent this normally Republican district there entered several national issues which roused the reform blood in Cambridge. Several Massachusetts representatives and both her senators had voted for the notorious Harbor and Rivers Bill and had finally passed that log-rolling, extravagant measure over President Arthur's veto. Furthermore the administration of the Boston Customs House and the Charlestown Navy Yard had, during the past year, been too closely allied with the local Republican organizations to meet the approval of Civil Service reformers. To lull the rising storm of criticism over their Civil Service record, the Massachusetts Republicans at their Worcester Convention had introduced a Civil Service reform plank. Independents, therefore, demanded that any Republican candidate selected must accord with this platform in order to insure their allegiance. In defiance of this known sentiment in the district and of the reform plank in the state platform, the Republican machine proposed to nominate Bowman, a man whose association with the patronage of the Navy Yard and of the Customs House was notorious. Citizens of Ward One in caucus denounced the Republican policy of

political assessments on office holders, and the *Chronicle* published a list of Republicans who had declared they would bolt if Bowman were nominated. The reformers failed to prevent Bowman's nomination in convention; but when a resolution was offered approving the Civil Service plank in the Republican platform, Jabez Fox of Cambridge found an opportunity for a piece of sarcasm for which he became famous. It is so significant of the peculiar position of Independents within the party and of the behavior of the Old Guard Republicans at this time that it is worth quoting. Fox opposed the Civil Service reform motion and said,

"You will see that like a loyal Republican I have changed my views in accordance with action of this convention in selecting its candidate. Let us not follow the wicked Democrats in condemnation of those practices to which our candidate owes his political existence. I would have preferred a candidate who could have stood upon those resolutions, but the convention has decided otherwise. We cannot conceal the candidate's record. Everybody who does not know it now, will know before election day that our candidate believes that Patronage *not* Merit should be the test of appointments and rewards in office. It seems to me therefore the part of wisdom and prudence for us to stand by and defend his record. Let us say that he believes that the Navy Yard should be used to help elect Congressmen who control its patronage — so do we. Then if we fail let us fall with our faces turned toward the morning and the Navy Yard, and let us not pretend to advocate what Mr. Bowman called the cant about Civil Service Reform."

This amendment being lost, Fox moved and pressed to a vote a resolution declaring, "We invite all voters of the Fifth District to oppose at the polls any candidate whose record shows that he is not in favor of the reforms in the Civil Service demanded by the Republican Convention at Worcester." The motion was lost. Fox definitely left the party.

The Democrats held off from making any nomination until they could see what the Independents would do. When these determined to bolt, a fusion was readily effected and Leopold Morse was supported by both groups against Bowman. The election proved a great victory for the Independents. Not only did they elect Morse in the Fifth District but also, elsewhere,

Theodore Lyman, Henry B. Lovering, and Patrick A. Collins were elected by the Democrats through the aid of Independent votes. Even Bishop's defeat by Butler was hailed as a triumph for the Independents in so far as it might serve to convince the Republican machine that it was not safe to count on continued Republican victories unless candidates were selected who appealed to the Independent votes. It is remarkable that even in Cambridge where the fallacies of the Butler propaganda might be supposed to be exposed, the radical Democrats carried the city for Butler by some eight hundred votes. It is even more remarkable that after a year's trial in office, followed by a very thorough campaign of education by so convincing a speaker as Robinson, the city again fell from grace and in 1883 in a much larger total vote again gave Butler a slight plurality.

In the memory of the Cambridge reformers of that day probably the most important developments of the campaigns of 1882 in point of the advancement of reform movements in general were the founding of the Massachusetts Reform Club and the stimulation of local Civil Service Reform Associations. Of these, that of the Fifth Congressional District was very active. It had been organized by the men who had been energetic in the campaign to defeat Bowman, as we have seen above. The officers of this association were: Henry Lee, president; Charles W. Eliot, Charles T. Russell, John C. Dodge among its vice-presidents; George G. Wright, treasurer; and George H. Ryther, secretary. On the executive committee the following Cambridge men appear: Jabez Fox, A. M. Howe, George V. Leverett, Frank A. Allen, H. N. Tilton, John Conlon, C. F. Wyman, George A. Sawyer.

The election of Butler as governor as well as the election of Leopold Morse to Congress indicated the strength and weakness of the reformers. As Independent Republicans they had neither the power of preventing the nomination of a dangerous candidate on the Democratic ticket nor had they enough influence within the councils of the Republican party to secure the choice of a strong candidate to oppose Butler. In the district contest they were able, however, to exercise a controlling influence because the Democrats, aware of the hopelessness of their position without aid from the Independents, were ready and willing

to nominate a candidate worthy of support by those dissatisfied with the Republican nominee.

During these next three years Cambridge was being stirred to its depths over the license question. Beginning in 1881 the citizens were given an opportunity to vote at the city election in December whether licenses to sell liquor should be granted in Cambridge. The story of that organization of the no-license party in Cambridge and its long and courageous fight to rid the city of the saloon has been told at length in Frank Foxcroft's "Ten No-License Years." For us it is of interest as a demonstration of the success attainable by the enthusiastic reformers of Cambridge engaged on a definite crusade. No-license triumphed in Cambridge because of three factors: (1) the ill-judged action of the liquor interests in injecting licensing into city politics through the Board of Aldermen; (2) the chance under the local option law to disassociate no-license in Cambridge from prohibition in general; (3) the loyal support rendered by good citizens, regardless of prohibition views, to uphold the officials charged with administering the law. None of these factors worked in favor of the reforms which had become part of either national party platform. The activity for the cause of temperance displayed by Father Scully could not be counted on in favor of civil service reform or sound money. In fact his activity in ill-advised championship of his parochial school against the public school had estranged him from most of the Cambridge liberals. Among the men who led in the practical organization of voters for these local reforms few could claim more intimate or exact knowledge of the political weather than the present treasurer[1] of this Society.

The relation of these reform movements to local politics in Cambridge is peculiar on account of the operation of non-partisan organizations in selecting and presenting candidates for municipal offices and in the actual elections. This has been pointed out in an authoritative article in *Municipal Affairs* for March, 1900, by Mr. George G. Wright. It is on his authority that, without going into the intricacies of the local situation, I would summarize the situation thus: Given the population of Cambridge at that time, the chances for getting

[1] George G. Wright.

good candidates before the voters and securing a free discussion of the issues were better than could be found in most communities of this size. Furthermore this non-partisan system encouraged the organization and continued activity of associations of voters formed to promote specific reforms to a degree which is impossible where city politics is dominated by two major political parties acting as local branches of the state and national organizations.

It was under such circumstances, but not as a champion of any of the moral reform movements, that William E. Russell entered politics. The immediate occasion of his entry was a petty matter, but the manner of his action was so characteristic of the man that it is worth noting. A teacher in the public schools had secured the nomination for a place on the Common Council, which had supervision of the schools. Some men from Ward One, disapproving of this nomination under the circumstances, had William E. Russell's name printed on new ballots without consulting him and had already begun distributing them at the polls when Russell came to vote. Eye witnesses testify as to the genuineness of his surprise as well as to his immediate decision not only to accept the task but to put his shoulder to the wheel to secure its success. His action in upsetting the slate of the ward caucus brought upon his head the displeasure of some of the good citizens of Ward One, but he was elected by a narrow margin. He had already shown an interest in an important issue, the granting of locations in the streets to a rival street railway to compete with the Union Railway into Boston. The leader of this new railway enterprise, Charles Raymond, was one of those who had initiated the scheme for Russell's entry into city politics and continued to be his backer for years to come. This association with Raymond was the cause of the bitter hostility which the *Cambridge Chronicle* showed toward Russell as long as that paper remained in the hands of Lynn B. Porter (1886). The editor of the *News*, Dan Buckley, a free lance in politics, took up the cudgels warmly in favor of Raymond's railway scheme and Russell's political candidacy.

During the next two years William E. Russell, as champion of the good government faction, continued in city politics, mov-

ing up from the Council to the Board of Aldermen and standing for reëlection with varying degrees of success at the polls. On one occasion the first count registered his defeat by a scant margin, but a recount gave him back his seat in the Board. His first years were marked by an aggressiveness and desire "to be in on everything" that was going on, which his enemies termed boyish bumptiousness but his friends called alertness and commendable activity. All the while his experience was enlarging through his political contacts as well as through his professional practice. On several occasions he took the stump in behalf of Democratic state tickets, beginning in 1880. Although listed as a member of the group which was to sit on the platform in Faneuil Hall at a Butler meeting in 1883, Russell was not present and it was generally reported that he, as well as his father, scratched Butler in that election.

By 1884 Russell was spoken of as a likely candidate for mayor. The then encumbent had enjoyed three years in the office, there was some opposition to his financial policy, there had been considerable friction between the mayor and the Board of Aldermen over police and fire department administration, the liquor question was at its height. Besides all this, the issues raised in the national election and the success of the Independent movement with its emphasis on Civil Service reform, all created a situation favorable to the candidacy of a young politician who had evidenced a quickness of grasp on municipal problems, and courage and resourcefulness in attempting their solution.

This was the great year for the independent voter. He had already demonstrated his power in Pennsylvania and in New York. Massachusetts had seen sporadic effects in congressional districts; now these were to be coördinated in a statewide movement in behalf of a national issue. Cambridge men played a very prominent part in this work.

Throughout the spring of 1884 the irritation of the machine politicians in both parties with the pernicious activity of the Liberals or Independents had been increasing; and as the party conventions in the several states to choose delegates to the national convention drew near, the question was furiously debated whether these "kickers" and bolters would be allowed

to attend the party caucuses and conventions without some assurance of their repentance and sincere desire to return to the fold and agree to abide by the decisions of the party as to candidates and platforms.

The Democratic State Convention resulted in a compromise, the delegation being divided between Butler and anti-Butler men; but the infusion of young blood into the party and their alliance with the Old Line Yankee Democrats to recover control of the party from the Butler faction, were already under way. The realization that a reformed Democracy could look with some confidence for support from the Independents greatly strengthened the hands and encouraged the hearts of the group to whom young Russell had already begun to attach himself. Two of his associates in city politics, John W. Coveney and John M. Wood, had gone from Cambridge to the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

The news of Blaine's nomination brought matters to a crisis among the Independents in Massachusetts. The machinery for starting the revolt was found in the Massachusetts Reform Club. June 7, the very day after Blaine's nomination, a meeting attended by forty members was held at the Parker House. Here they adopted resolutions condemning Blaine, and appointed a committee with full powers to take such steps as they deemed necessary to secure the coöperation of Independents elsewhere, and to call a convention for the purpose of uniting on the support of some other candidate "in full sympathy with the reform sentiment of the country." Active in these initial steps were the following Cambridge men: Jabez Fox, John C. Dodge, Richard H. Dana, J. B. Thayer, A. M. Howe, Charles W. Eliot, and T. W. Higginson.

The day after the Independents' declaration appeared, the *Chronicle*, under the caption "Good-bye Kickers," rejoices that "the Independents have shown their true colors; the G. O. P. is well rid of them." Soon afterwards it quotes with glee an editorial comment from a Chicago journal ridiculing the idea that the Blaine nomination had split the party, "The Republican party is about as much split as a man who has a wart removed."

By July 5 the Cambridge Independents held a meeting of

their own, opened by Mr. Howe, at which Colonel Higginson presided. This Temple Hall meeting was derisively reported in the *Chronicle* as "The Saints in Council." Meanwhile the meeting in Boston had occurred in the Meionaon to discuss what candidate should be supported in order to beat Blaine. Here appeared a difference between Colonel Higginson and President Eliot. The former unqualifiedly approved backing the Democratic nominee as much the surest way to defeat Blaine; while Eliot felt a disruption of the old parties desirable and the realignment in new camps, as in 1860, necessary to secure a proper testing of the issues at the polls.

In spite of the promise of enthusiastic support by the Independents, the chances of Cleveland's success in Massachusetts seemed very poor. The young college graduates therefore who espoused his cause in 1884 cannot be said to have flocked to an obviously winning cause. For the Democratic Convention at Worcester had been under the thumb of Butler's henchmen and the progressive element had been snowed under, securing scant representation on the delegation led to Chicago by that audacious charlatan. His utter failure to impress his vivid personality favorably on the Convention, or to effect an alliance with the Tammany leaders to defeat Cleveland, gave the younger members of the delegation a chance to break away from his domination. Of these younger men, John W. Coveney of East Cambridge and Sherman Hoar of Waltham were already in touch with the progressive group in Massachusetts with which the Russells were identified. The breakdown of the regular Democratic organization is therefore of much significance because of the bearing it had upon the immediate relations of the party with the Independents and for the opportunity it afforded a remarkable group of recent Harvard graduates to rise to leadership of the Democratic party. This group included Josiah Quincy, Jr., Nathan Matthews, Jr., Charles S. Hamlen, George Fred Williams, Sigourney Butler, Sherman Hoar, John F. Andrew, and William E. Russell. With them stood a group of very enterprising young politicians of Irish blood: Patrick A. Collins, the two Coveneys, J. J. Corbett, the two Lomasneys, James Donovan, John E. Fitzgerald, John Boyle O'Reilly, Joseph O'Neil. The decision of these latter young men to sup-

port Cleveland and their readiness to coöperate with the Independents formed the real basis for the Cleveland Democracy in Massachusetts. Although not effective in this election, the intimate association of W. E. Russell, through his East Cambridge Democratic friends, with the Lomasneys and the leaders of Democratic politics in the West End of Boston came in later years to be a source of great strength to the progressive element in the Democratic party, and helped to defeat the machinations of Blaine, and later of Lodge, to seduce the Irish Catholic of Boston from his traditional adherence to the Democratic party. It was perhaps this alliance between Brattle Street and the Hendricks Club that prompted Joseph Walker's bitter jibe: "Russell was elected governor by Harvard College and the Boston slums."

In the course of the campaign which followed, some interesting work was done by Cambridge men. Archibald M. Howe and George G. Wright travelled several thousand miles through the Middle West, organizing Independent clubs and arranging speaking engagements for their most effective campaign orator, Carl Schurz. Others devoted their special abilities to attacking such particular abuses in the Republican record as especially appealed to them. Thus President Eliot spoke on the need of tariff reform and was led into a rather amusing exchange of views with Senator Hoar on the effect of the tariff on his friend Francis Iver's buggy manufacturing, especially his sales to Australia. Richard H. Dana continued his splendid work for Civil Service reform. Colonel Higginson spoke in five states on the general fallacy of the Republican claims to continuance in power on the strength of their war record. Norton was in close touch with such leaders as George William Curtis and Carl Schurz and Godkin and secured in the progressive press of the country helpful publicity for the Massachusetts effort. The Republicans began to take the matter seriously before the end of the summer and organized Blaine and Logan Clubs, but their membership lists contained the names of few men of light and leading.

The outcome of the election of 1884 brought to the reformers, especially in Massachusetts, an entirely new set of troubles. Developed in a school of opposition they found them-

selves now forced into a defensive position — to defend their President and his party in their attempts to administer the government in accordance with the reform principles on which they had been elected. Many of the reformers took a self-denying vow that they would not take part in the scramble for office. Others, however, like Barkis, were willing. Enough Mugwumps received office to offend the Old Line Democrats, who, after their years of opposition, felt that the spoils, even of a reform administration, are worth something and should go to the veterans before the recruits. So confirmed were the habits of opposition in some Independents that the change of administration made no difference. Their criticism was as sharp against the new President when he rewarded a deserving Democrat with a postmastership as it had been against Arthur. By 1888 *Harper's Weekly* could rejoice that bolting had become quite as much the habit of Democrats as it had been among Republicans.

There was, however, a group of men, some Democrats and some Independents, who strove to build up a Democratic party in the state which could consistently support the President and carry out in state affairs some of the principles which had been made issues in the recent national elections. In December, 1887 these men, most of them members of one or more of the reform organizations already considered, formed the Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts, and for the next ten or twelve years played an important part in state and national politics. Literary ability, evidenced by their campaign documents and speeches, was admitted, but success in political organization was not expected of the reformers. What Mr. George G. Wright had demonstrated could be done in municipal politics, these experimenters in politics led by Josiah Quincy, Jr. and Nathan Matthews, Jr., were accomplishing in the Commonwealth. This is not the place to go into the details of their remarkable organization, but it is proper to say here that much of their work would have gone for naught had they not found, born in Cambridge and trained by "Nurse Wright" in Cambridge politics, a man ideally fitted to be placed at the head of their column and in his own person and record present the policies of the new party.

It is not easy to assess the value of the services which William E. Russell rendered to the several causes dear to the hearts of the men we have considered as Cambridge reformers, for he had not been conspicuously identified with any of these movements. His record in the City Council and in the Board of Aldermen was marked by intelligent and active interest in the financial and administrative problems of the city government, but he championed few if any of the proposals which sprang from the group of moral and social reformers. When he became mayor, although he had regularly voted for license, Russell lived up to his promises in faithful enforcement of the no-license policy then adopted by the voters. He put into effect with decision the state law providing for selection and promotion of city employees by the merit system. He insisted upon a fiscal policy which brought the city from a position of financial confusion and weakness to one of order and strength. He upheld the cause of law and order during two severe strikes, at Squire's plant and on the street railway, in a fashion to win the approval of those who demand protection of property rights, yet without losing the support of the great mass of the working men. In judging Russell's work as mayor, the form of city government must be considered: during his four years' encumbency — indeed up to 1892 — the mayor lacked the single executive power necessary for efficient action; he could act only in conjunction with the Board of Aldermen or with the City Council; most of the departments had to be operated through some committee of one or the other of these elected bodies. In addition to his municipal duties Russell gave of his time and strength in aiding the progressive element in the Democratic party in the campaigns from 1882 to 1887, in which he was not himself a candidate for state office. As a campaigner he was progressively effective, and in his own conduct on the stump did much to raise the level of political discussion. President Eliot, speaking of his gallant fight in 1888 when, in a presidential year, Russell cut down the normal Republican plurality in the state, said: "His speeches were serious, earnest, grave, compact arguments without personal issues; under strong temptation there was a complete abstinence from that degradation of our political life." In 1896

Colonel Higginson wrote of Russell's campaign oratory: "Of all the speakers with whom I have ever occupied the platform, the one with whom I found it pleasantest to be associated was the late Governor William Eustis Russell of Massachusetts. Carrying his election three times in a state where his party was distinctly in a minority, he yet had, among all political speakers whom I have ever heard, the greatest simplicity and directness of statement, the most entire absence of trick, of claptrap, or of anything which would have lowered him. Striking directly at the main argument, always well fortified, making his points uniformly clear, dealing sparingly in joke or anecdote, yet never failing to hold his audience, he was very near the ideal of a political speaker; nor has the death of any man in public life appeared so peculiar and irremediable a loss."

In these campaigns Russell was devoting himself to expounding the platform and policies of his party. The issues were chiefly tariff, sound money, and civil service reform, on all of which, particularly the former, Russell was very effective. But after he assumed office as governor he dealt some of the most telling blows for the principles of sound public administration that are to be found in the speeches of any public man. In spite of the cries of partisan politics Russell was essentially right on the great questions of public administration as experts in that subject have come to believe. In this I would not claim that he was a pioneer, since he was following the same line of argument that Seth Low had followed in his reform administration in New York, but the principles on which Russell proceeded he had been developing for himself since his first term as mayor of Cambridge. The central points in his policy were executive responsibility in state administration, separation of executive and legislative functions, abolition of the Governor's Council, general legislation rather than special wherever possible, especially in the case of public service corporations where the pressure for special privileges from members of the legislature is most severe. He recommended legislation to control the lobby and abolition of railroad passes for legislators. He also urged home rule for cities and towns, except where concentration of population produces a community of needs which can better be satisfied by consolidated service as in the case

of the Metropolitan Park, Sewer, and Water Commissions. For one classed as a reformer, Russell's views on such questions as woman suffrage, prohibition, and the limitation of the sphere of state activity now seem very conservative. It has been urged that the liberal policies he advocated on labor legislation, sweatshop inspection, abolition of poll tax franchise, etc., were such as were required by the character of his constituency and were adopted by him as party politics. Concerning his position on prohibition the same charge is made, but here it is clear from his record as mayor as well as in the Board of Aldermen that Russell was consistently opposed to prohibition by constitutional amendment or by legislation. He had well-considered opinions as to the proper function of constitutional law, and he believed that it was a misuse of the latter to load upon it prohibitory legislation which was unenforceable. The local option law under which Cambridge had gone no-license, he proved, as mayor, could be enforced because the moral sense of the community was nearly unanimous against the presence of saloons in a residential district. The bitter struggle between Governor Russell and the Republican politicians in control of the Council, over the removal of Police Commissioner Osborne, redounded on the whole to the credit of the governor, and served to give point to his contention that an undivided responsibility for executive officers of the state should be placed in the hands of the governor who was directly answerable to the voters at frequent elections and that the governor should have power of removal as well as appointment.

Several other policies which Russell championed conspicuously were decidedly party measures, yet his attitude lifted them above the plane of partisan politics and gave them the dignity of principles. Of these the one which invoked the severest condemnation not only of mere political opponents like Lodge, but also of some Independents, and old Abolitionists like the Hallowells, was the Southern Question. Russell spoke at the Atlanta Exposition, held to celebrate the rise of the new South, at about the same time that Grady came North to plead the right of the South to solve the negro suffrage question in her own way. Russell declared that there was a

new North as well as a new South; that the issues of the war were now forgotten and the two sections had no reason for mutual distrust; that politicians who tried to trade on the Bloody Shirt issue had been rejected by the voters. Cambridge reformers instantly divided on this issue. Many of the old Abolitionists, who had deserted the party of Lincoln when the Blaine campaign was on, now rushed to the defense of the Fifteenth Amendment and the memory of Charles Sumner. It was an acid test of liberalism.

On nothing, however, was Russell's sincerity challenged more frequently than on his attitude toward the Irish Catholic population from whom, even then, the bulk of the Democratic votes necessary for his election were supposed to come. How much of his immense popularity with this class of voters came from his own genial personality, how much from his inherited and consistent party regularity, and how much was a response to the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy which he held convincingly before the voters, it is hard to say. This much is certain: William E. Russell won the affection and the respect of a great mass of the labor votes, and held it through fifteen years of active political life in both city and state, in the face of the most trying and skillfully directed attacks by a party possessed of immense prestige and patronage. He was also accepted and supported with devotion by as discriminating, intelligent, and high-minded a group of men, many of whom had known him from infancy, as have ever been assembled in support of a political candidate. His great accomplishment marks also the great failure of most other men of his class as recorded in Massachusetts politics. He saw our duty to the alien population which then threatened and has now engulfed the native voters in our industrial centers; he succeeded in bringing that mass of voters into practical political adjustment with a group of intelligent and public-spirited leaders on a platform sane, progressive, and free from demagogy. This required in him and requires in his successors much of the fearless crusader's zeal which Higginson showed, and expressed in these words: ". . . if it [the defense of a public question] brings us for a time into the minority, if it costs us old friendships, if it leads to unjust imputations that ignore the whole of our lives,

so much the better; for it gives us the discipline which manhood needs in a republican country to do its duty."

It requires, too, an intellectual honesty — a refusal to juggle and trade, as President Eliot said: " . . . Gentlemen, I am sure we may welcome this struggle. It is an intellectual combat. It is not a sentimental issue. It is a field for argument, and argument not only for material prosperity but for moral growth."

If Victorian Liberalism seemed to go down to defeat in the cataclysm of 1896 along with Cleveland Democracy and its young champion in Massachusetts, it left behind it two landmarks to show what could be done: it records the only case in American history of a President returning to the White House after an interval of four years in private life, and in Massachusetts the only case of a Democrat thrice elected governor. What Governor Russell said of Cleveland may well be applied to both men, "Every man today clothed with official responsibility, and striving honestly to meet it, is strengthened in his efforts by the courageous standard which you have dared to set."

This sounds the note of individualism and responsibility. It is Puritan and it is Victorian — it is old-fashioned but still strikes a responsive chord in the Cantabrigian mind.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SIXTY YEARS IN CAMBRIDGE

By Ephraim Emerton

Read June 4, 1927

I came to live in Cambridge as a freshman in the year 1867 and ever since then, with the exception of five years spent partly in Boston and partly in Europe, my home has been here. During those five years of absence I was in constant communication with Cambridge, so that it is no exaggeration to say that for sixty years this town has been the center of my activities and of my affections.

My earliest recollection of the place takes me back a year or two earlier, when, during a visit with relatives in Brookline, I was driven over here to see the "colleges." I use the plural advisedly, for at that time and for long afterward that was the common form used by dwellers beyond the city limits and indeed by many of our own people. Nor was this usage incorrect. The original "college" was a building, a boarding house for students. I recall distinctly the impression this first glimpse of Harvard made upon me. It was chiefly of trees, endless rows of stately elms, in the midst of which were a few scattered buildings mostly of red brick. The only buildings in the Yard were Harvard, Hollis, Stoughton, Holworthy, Appleton Chapel, Holden Chapel, University, Boylston, Grays, Wadsworth, and the Dane Law School. It was a dreamland to my subfreshman mind, and nothing was farther from my dream than the idea that here was to be my lifelong home.

In 1867 the college was under the kindly guidance of the Rev. Thomas Hill, a learned mathematician with ideas of university reform which he was not the man to carry out. It was but two years after the awful strain of the Civil War. The country, drained of its resources, was just beginning to stretch itself in a mighty effort to recover what had been lost and go on to a new and unimagined development. The college was

jogging along in the traditional ruts, but the town was beginning to feel the impulse of the new time.

It is my impression that the old omnibus line to Boston had been discontinued not long before. Its place had been taken by a service of horse cars running from Bowdoin Square through Main Street to Harvard Square, little yellow boxes holding about thirty passengers. This service was afterward extended through Brattle Street to Mt. Auburn and through North Avenue to Arlington. The running-time — if one may use the word — between the Squares was nominally thirty minutes, but delays of various sorts were frequent. The tracks were provided with a rather low flange, over which the wheels were apt to slip in stormy times and carry the car out onto the very bumpy pavement. A part of the regular equipment was a four by four "joist" some three feet long, pointed at the ends and shod with iron. When the car ran off the track, the passengers would be turned out, the wedge thrust under one wheel, and all hands would take hold to help in coaxing it back again. In cold weather the floor of the car was covered with straw a foot deep, and no little dexterity was required to twist this around one's ankles with fairness to one's neighbor.

Fares were more or less proportioned to distance. At one time I remember the fare was three cents to the "Lower Port," six cents to Dana Street, and ten to Harvard Square and beyond. Of course we boys paid our six cents, jumped off at Dana Street, and walked to Harvard. This situation was reflected in the popular doggerel:

> Punch! Punch! Punch with care!
> Punch in the presence of the Passengaire!
> A red trip slip for a three cent fare,
> A white trip slip for a six cent fare,
> A blue trip slip for a ten cent fare!

I am not quite sure about the colors, but recall perfectly the heated discussions over the rights of passengers, the needs of the company, and the integrity of the employees.

The half hour to Bowdoin Square was a distinctly social occasion. One met one's friends and enjoyed that leisurely gossip which seems to be crowded out in these more rapid days.

Conductors and drivers knew all the passengers and treated them with a parental consideration. A friend of mine said to a conductor, as a lady left the car on Brattle Street, "Do you know that lady's name?" "Well, no, I don't and I'd ought to, too. I've handled her for years."

The coming of the electric cars put an end to these jocund days. It was the occasion also for what was known as the "railroad war." The question was: should the new rails be laid in Brattle Street? The Brattle Streeters naturally wanted to keep the tracks not too far from their houses, but they feared the noise of the new and heavier cars. This was enough to excite the jealousy of the maritime wards, and a bitter conflict arose, only to be settled by dividing the issue and placing the new tracks partly on Mt. Auburn Street and partly on the newly made Huron Avenue.

The Cambridge of my college days was a typical New England village, of which Harvard Square was the business center. In the middle of the square stood a noble elm tree, casting its grateful shade over a town pump, a public hay scale, and a watering trough where the horse car horses were refreshed after each trip from Boston. Their stables were on Dunster Street. Around the square were the shops which supplied the modest needs of students and citizens. On the south side was the University Bookstore, a semi-official monopoly under the firm of Sever and Francis, later Sever's only. There too was John H. Hubbard's apothecary shop, still surviving as Billings & Stover's, and the confectionery and ice cream parlor of Miss M. R. Jones, affectionately known as "Mr." Jones, now superseded, after several transformations, by a branch of the Boston Huyler's. On the corner of Brighton, now Boylston Street, was Wyeth's grocery. On the west side, at the corner of Brattle Street, was Ramsay's pharmacy, immortalized by Mr. James Russell Lowell's reply, when he was offered a mission to Egypt, that he preferred Ramsay's corner to Ramses the Great. Next to that was Lyceum Hall, scene of all the mild festivities of the day. Farther on came the rival grocery of Wood & Hall, reincarnated as Merrill's, and still existing under that name in more remote quarters. At the point where College House turns at a slight angle was the jewelry and clock shop of Mr. Huntington,

skilled artisan, poet, mathematician, and philanthropist, by whose benefactions our city is profiting to this day. On Brattle Street was the considerable furniture shop of Whitney and Brackett, afterward Worcester Brothers, and the meat market of David Brewer, with that of his brother Thomas, over the way on Brattle Square facing the University Press.

These were all specialty shops. An apothecary was an apothecary. If he dispensed soda water, it was because carbonate of soda was a chemical product belonging naturally within his bailiwick. A grocer and a butcher belonged to different lines of trade. Department stores in the modern sense were unheard of except as "general stores" in the strictly rural districts.

Some of my most vivid and most happy recollections gather about the river. The winding Charles, as our fellow-member Mr. Blackall has pointed out to us, has always determined the general plan of our city. The earliest houses of importance were placed with their beautiful gardens and ample lawns running down to the river's banks. "Its water rushing among the wooden piers" was not a river current but tidewater extending far above Cambridge. Its banks were muddy flats exposed to the sun at low tide, unsightly, and fragrant with many noisome odors. It was spanned by the series of wooden bridges only now in the process of replacement by more permanent structures. These bridges were set at acute angles to the course of the moving tides; the space between their piers was narrow and challenged the skill of the best steersmen to navigate them with safety. The college boathouses were at the foot of Plympton Street near the coal wharf of Richardson & Bacon, another of the monopolies which prospered under the wing of the college until the enterprise of Moses King and his successor, the Harvard Coöperative Society, put an end to them. Rowing at that time had its handicaps, but the happiest hours of my college life were passed on the river and in the profitable idleness that went with this noblest of sports. The racing boats were six-oared, without a coxswain, steered by the feet of the bow oar pressing against a movable yoke attached to the rudder by wires running the length of the boat. Captain of our class crew was a Cambridge boy, Nathaniel Goodwin Read, always known as "Goody," a lover of the sea, captain in the merchant

service at twenty-four. One member of our class crew was among the representatives of Harvard in the first race with Oxford in 1869.

The main outline of the streets of Cambridge was complete when I came to Cambridge. The only important addition has been Huron Avenue. North Avenue had been laid out not long before on a truly splendid scale. With its broad driveway, its unnecessarily wide sidewalks, its ample reserved space between the houses and the street, and its noble rows of trees, it represented the boundless anticipations of the post-war period. In its present degenerate condition it tells the pitiful story of our haphazard methods in dealing with the problem of housing our shifting and short-sighted population. Today no one who builds himself a home expects it to serve more than his own generation.

Craigie Street, connecting the old Watertown and Concord roads, had been built up not long before my time with typical specimens of the popular square-planned mansard-roofed single-family house, one of the ugliest and one of the most comfortable forms known to American domestic architecture. The high-studded and therefore well-lighted cellar with its efficient heating apparatus, at that time about as much of a novelty as electric lighting is today, gave to these houses a guarantee of healthful comfort that appealed strongly to the practical sense of our expanding people. If we remember that not one of the college dormitories of that time had central heating of any kind nor any plumbing worth mentioning and that two wells in the college yard supplied all the water used by students there, besides serving as possible cesspools for superfluous drainage, we can understand what these changes in housing conditions meant for the future of our city.

So much for the outward aspects of the Cambridge of the early seventies. Now a word as to the human side. It is worth while to remind ourselves of the well-worn story of the two venerable men meeting on the street and discussing the good old times, lamenting especially the disappearance of notable individual characters. "Now in our time," says one, "there used to be 'characters' like so-and-so and the rest of them. You don't see any characters in these standardized days."

"My dear sir," says the other, "does it never occur to you that *we* are the 'characters' now?" Distance certainly lends magnitude to the figures that were familiar to me in Cambridge streets, but I like to think that I was permitted to see face to face the men who have left their permanent mark upon our community and upon our country. The benignant presence of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, whose poetry, after the nightmare of "free verse," "naturalism," "realism," and all the other isms, is once more coming into its own with its appeal to the finer instincts and the more normal sense of beauty; Samuel Longfellow, shy and gentle interpreter in poetic form of the religious consciousness of his day; James Russell Lowell, spokesman of the highest ideals of public life; John Holmes, whose whole quality was revealed in his reply to the inquiry whether he was Mr. Holmes' brother: "No, Mr. Holmes is my brother"; John Fiske, revealer to thousands of plain people of some of the most significant currents of philosophic thought and the essential meanings of our early national history; William Dean Howells, foremost exponent of the new school of realistic romancers; Dr. Morrill Wyman, physician, friend, and counsellor to three generations of Cambridge families; and Dr. Henry P. Walcott, reaching out beyond the limits of the general practitioner to the larger function of guardian of the public health.

And then the professors: Andrew P. Peabody, conservative radical in theology, a preacher of such persuasive appeal to the best there was in young men that not even the six morning prayers and the two Sunday sermons could lessen his hold upon their abiding affection; Charles Eliot Norton, only just beginning to preach to unresponsive undergraduates his gospel of sweetness and light; Francis J. Child, tireless collector of the people's most intimate form of literary expression, and equally tireless teacher of the complex simplicities of a good English style; Nathaniel S. Shaler, Asa Gray, and Jeffries Wyman, advance heralds of the great reform in science associated with the name of Charles Darwin; Charles Carroll Everett, one of Mr. Eliot's earliest appointments, bringing into the newly reorganized Divinity School a profound philosophical principle embodied in his first important book, "The Science of Thought," and developed throughout the thirty fruitful years

of his academic life; Henry Warren Torrey, "gentleman and scholar," ardent upholder of the old and generous in his welcome of the new order.

One has only to pass in review these familiar figures of sixty years ago to realize that the Cambridge of that day was seething with a new spirit. Whether you call it the spirit of the modern world or the spirit of liberalism or of scientific inquiry or of a trained curiosity, it is the same spirit. And then, into the midst of this abounding but uncoördinated energy, came the man who was destined to give it coherent form. It is rather the fashion to think of Mr. Eliot as the creator of something new. It is much nearer the truth to describe him as the clear-sighted organizer of forces ready to his hand. It was not an easy task. It meant years of opposition and misunderstanding, but fighting on his side were always these newly awakened and forward-looking activities. It was the combination of the intellectual energy of Cambridge with the practical common sense of Boston that carried the college and with it the town to the impressive developments of the last half century.

It is the task of this Society to keep before the minds of our citizens this noble tradition of a learned body living in the midst of a community which cherishes it as its chief asset and proudest possession. The interests of the university and the city are inseparably bound together, and it is only as each recognizes the sacredness of this tie that both can go on to new and ever-new achievement.

THE BATES-DANA HOUSE

By Mary Isabella Gozzaldi

Read October 25, 1927

In 1817 Jacob Hill Bates bought the land on the westerly corner of Brattle and Church Streets from John Palmer. He built the house facing east, on the opposite corner of Church Street, where he lived and died. The house on the west corner, which has just been pulled down that Church Street may be widened, he built for his daughter Mary, who was baptized in 1813 and who married Horatio Cook Meriam. She died at the age of twenty, leaving no child; so the house still belonged to Jacob Hill Bates at his death.

The house, which had a swell front on the lower story, was painted yellow. A piazza ran the length of the front, which faced Brattle Street. It stood back from the street with a sloping lawn, on which were elm trees and flower beds.

Probably[1] in the spring of 1832 Richard Henry Dana I, the poet, hired the house from Jacob Hill Bates. He and his family had been living for ten years in the house he hired from Dr. Thomas Foster, on the corner of Quincy and Harvard Streets, now occupied by Professor George Herbert Palmer.

From this house on Brattle Street Richard Henry Dana, Jr., started for his famous voyage before the mast on August 18, 1834, a few days after his nineteenth birthday. Charles Francis Adams in his Life of Dana says that because of the extreme weakness of his eyes as a result of measles he was obliged to leave college and that he lived for a time "an aimless life in Cambridge, useless and dissatisfied." This may be literally so, but his sister told of the time when Professor Lovering's lessons for her in this house were disturbed by the fun he and his brother were having in the basement below.

I have not been able to find out who occupied the house after

[1] I am indebted to Miss Elizabeth Ellery Dana for much of this information.—M. I. G.

the Dana family left; probably it was rented to several persons. Before the beginning of the Civil War it was the home of Dr. Francis Dana, son of Francis and Sophia (Willard) Dana, grandson of Chief Justice Dana, who was born December 2, 1806. He graduated from Harvard College in 1827 and from the Harvard Medical School in 1831. He married Isabella Hazen White on June 26, 1832, and died in this house on July 1, 1872. He is buried in the Dana tomb on Garden Street. There is a tablet to his memory on the east wall of Christ Church. Dr. Dana was for years Librarian of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston.

The family consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Dana, a son George Hazen, and a daughter Isabella. Both were born in Boston, George on December 2, 1837 and Isabella on February 9, 1847. At the beginning of the Civil War George Hazen Dana enlisted as Captain in the 32d Massachusetts Regiment. He was commissioned Major by brevet and Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Gettysburg and from the Rapidan to the James. Captain Dana was wounded in the arm at Gettysburg and brought to this house, where during the summer he lay in a hammock on the lawn, sheltered from the street. Many children used to come and peep in to see a real wounded officer.

The honors bestowed on Dana were well deserved. One instance out of many might be named as evidence of his merit. When Grant's campaign against Richmond opened, Lt.-Col. Dana was serving on the staff of Major-General N. J. T. Dana in the West, a position of comparative ease and safety; but preferring to share the hardships and dangers of his regiment in the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potamac, he obtained from General Dana a leave of absence for the Richmond campaign, joined his regiment near Spottsylvania, and served in all the terrible battles and marches until the army sat down to the siege of Petersburg. Then, as the Richmond campaign seemed ended, he rejoined General Dana.

In 1865 Lieutenant-Colonel George Hazen Dana married, in Boston, Frances Matson Burke, daughter of Hon. Edmund Burke of Newport, New Hampshire. He lived in Wyoming at

one time, and was a merchant in Singapore. Later he lived in New Hampshire. He is buried in the Dana tomb.

After Dr. Dana's death in 1872, his widow and daughters removed to Boston and later to New Hampshire, and the house was rented to various tenants. Of late years Dr. M. H. Bailey had an office in the house, and it was afterwards occupied by a Law School Club, called Lincoln's Inn, which had a club table there.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHURCH LIFE

A Brief History of the Prospect Congregational Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts

By Rev. William M. MacNair

Read October 25, 1927

About one hundred years ago the Congregational churches in Massachusetts divided into two opposing bodies. One became known as Unitarian, while the other maintained the Trinitarian theory and was popularly known as Orthodox or Evangelical. In many instances the line of cleavage ran through individual congregations, and the result was that many a village and small town had two churches where only one was known before. This multiplication of churches has not always fallen out to the furtherance of the gospel, as everyone familiar with life in New England villages well knows.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROSPECT CHURCH

The beginning of the Prospect Congregational Church in Cambridge was due to the theological conflict which raged in New England, but it was not the result of division or schism in any local church. It came about in this way. The Rev. Lyman Beecher came to Boston in the year 1826 to become the pastor of the Hanover Street Congregational Church. He speedily became the leader of the evangelical forces and his preaching attracted the attention of people near and far. Among his hearers was Dr. J. P. Chaplin, a well-known physician living in Cambridgeport, who was the son of the pastor of the church in Groton. Dr. Chaplin was evidently a man of action; for he not only travelled to Boston each week to sit under the preaching of Dr. Beecher but he persuaded a number of neighbors to accompany him. His efforts resulted in a wagon-load of people making the trip week by week, and then it came to pass that Dr. Beecher was invited to cross the Charles and deliver a

weekly lecture in Cambridgeport. This weekly lecture was given in the First Baptist Church, of which the Rev. Bela Edwards was pastor. During the early part of 1827 plans were discussed and developed by the little group of men of whom Dr. Chaplin was the leader, for the organization of a church and the erection of a house of worship. The first meeting for the discussion of this project was held on Wednesday evening, April 18, 1827, at the home of Dr. Chaplin, and the opinion was expressed that such a measure was expedient. It was voted that Messrs. William Fisk, F. Faulkner, and Dexter Fairbank be a committee to examine and provide a suitable place for the location of a meeting-house and to make other necessary arrangements. In the records of that day, we read also that it was

"Voted, That Messrs. Richardson and Dudley take the plan of a house by examination or otherwise and to make a general estimate of the expense.

"Voted, That Messrs. Chaplin, Fairbank, and F. Faulkner, Jr., be a Committee to draw up a subscription paper and solicit subscriptions."

The committees of that day evidently acted with speed and despatch; for twelve days later a plan was submitted and adopted, and as a result we find a church formally organized and the church-building dedicated on September 20, 1827, just five months after the first meeting of the little group. The building, or meeting-house as it was called in the early days, was located on Norfolk Street close to the corner of Austin Street, and the infant organization was given the cumbrous name of "The First Evangelical Congregational Church in Cambridgeport." In spite of its polysyllabic name the church still lives after a hundred years but rejoices in the simpler name of "The Prospect Congregational Church."

CAMBRIDGE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

It is interesting to look back through the years of the century and get a glimpse of the little community then called Cambridge. The population numbered about five thousand souls, and the town of that day was divided into several distinct communities. Cambridgeport was a village by itself, separated

from East Cambridge by the Great Marsh and from Old Cambridge by extensive farm-lands. North Cambridge did not then exist. Three churches were already in existence in Cambridgeport when the new-comer was born, the First Baptist Church, the First Universalist, and the Second Congregational, the last named surviving today under the name of the Harvard Street Unitarian Church. Two schools served the children of the community, and in this part of Cambridge stood the Town House.

The church was not allowed to start without receiving evidence that its efforts were noticed by the neighbors; for when the members wended their way to engage in worship on Sunday mornings, they found that certain men of Nicodemus-like habits had been before them and had sprinkled the walks with a liberal covering of sulphur. This little attention did no harm to anyone, but it furnishes eloquent testimony to the interest felt in things theological a century ago. We get no clear idea of the early services, but presumably Dr. Beecher and others conducted them, for it was not until 1829 that a pastor was called. This first pastor was the Rev. David Perry, who served but a brief period of eighteen months and then gave up the struggle in 1831. Mr. Perry's pastorate was so brief and so remote from the present day that not much can be said about it. We may infer that the field was difficult, and there is mention made in the records of lack of adequate income, from which we may conclude that the church was not destined to move forward to prosperity on flowery beds of ease.

A NOTABLE LEADER

The church in 1831 made a most fortunate choice in calling to the pastorate the Rev. William Augustus Stearns, a young man just finishing his studies at Andover Theological Seminary. At first Mr. Stearns was reluctant to accept the call, many friends urging him not to bury himself in that unpromising village between Boston and Cambridge; but finally he decided to throw in his lot with the struggling church, and his pastorate lasted for twenty-three years. This was the longest pastorate in the history of the church and it proved to be also the most constructive; for the membership increased from a handful to

more than four hundred, and twice it was found necessary to enlarge the meeting-house on Norfolk Street. Then in 1852 the present substantial and commodious church building was erected on Prospect Street, the very building in which services are now held. The vigorous life and growth of the church under Dr. Stearns is still further attested by the fact that three other churches came into existence not many years after his pastorate.

ITEMS FROM THE RECORDS

In the records of those early days we find many interesting items which enable us to see the church as a living body, dealing with human problems and with very human men and women. Here is a brief paragraph which suggests a background of moral danger and of human frailty and expresses a strong purpose to deal wisely with the problem:

> "January 20, 1830. Resolved, That we as a church feel ourselves required by the spirit of the gospel to abstain entirely from the use of ardent spirits, except in the case of bodily hurt or sickness, and that such abstinence be with this church an invariable condition of admission."

In spite of the resolution we find cases of drunkenness dealt with by the Standing Committee, proving that the resolution was born out of concern for the welfare of the members. The church has been noted throughout its history for its activity in the work of temperance reform, and evidently it received a vigorous push in the direction of the battlefield of temperance from its early members.

Cases of discipline arose to trouble the peace of the church from time to time, and the records indicate that such cases were dealt with in a spirit of Christian patience and charity and not in one of censorious fault-finding. Thus when a woman loudly complained in the year 1832 that Mr. Fairbank, a prominent member, had cheated her son in a business transaction, the Standing Committee heard the complaint, investigated the facts, and the painstaking Clerk devoted ten and a half pages of the records to the evidence taken. The church voted unanimously that Mr. Fairbank was not guilty of fraud and deception in the transaction.

In 1834 a certain Mrs. Penniman made charges against her stepdaughter, who was a member of the church. The Committee heard the complaint and recorded its conclusion that the trouble in this family was due to the drinking habits of the husband and the scolding habits of the wife. The charges against the daughter were not sustained by the evidence. Lest it be thought that the church of that day always stood by its members whether they were right or wrong, it may be said that other cases are on record where the offending member is found guilty and is censured or forbidden to attend the communion service for a specified time, or in some cases is excommunicated. In all the cases recorded, a Christian spirit and strong good sense are shown in dealing with troublesome questions or with refractory members.

Here is a case of church discipline of more than passing interest. It occurred at a later day than the pastorate of Dr. Stearns; but as it illustrates the spirit in which church discipline was conducted and established by Dr. Stearns, it may be considered here. A prominent member of the church was sentenced by the Federal Court to pay a fine of $100,000 and to serve a long term in the prison at Greenfield. The case involved a nice question in ethics. It happened that one of three partners in a firm doing a large business in Boston had borrowed money from the United States sub-treasury. This money had been used for speculative purposes. The other partners were not aware of the source of the loan. In time, however, they learned about it and learned also that government officials were demanding the return of the money. But to return the money at short notice, would bankrupt the firm. The men did their utmost to raise a great sum by borrowing from their friends, and they expected that they would be allowed to re-borrow from the government. Instead of that, they were arrested and prosecuted for using government funds improperly. They were found guilty and sentenced as already indicated. One of the three, a member of the church, wrote from prison and begged the church not to think of him too harshly, as the wrongdoing was the act of one of the partners only and the other two were ignorant of the transaction.

The Standing Committee responded in a spirit of kindness,

and the members declared that they did not think of him harshly, but they thought that he should express penitence. The member replied that since the act was that of his partner, *he* was not morally guilty and if he was not morally guilty he could hardly be expected to express penitence for what he had not done. This sounds reasonable enough, but the Standing Committee sent him this reply: that while he was not responsible for the original wrongdoing, in due time he became aware of it and then in order to maintain his credit and standing and that of his firm he borrowed from friends in the church and the community, well knowing the risk he was taking, but concealing the nature of the risk from his friends. He had no right to borrow from friends when the only hope of repaying them was through further borrowing from the government, which he now knew was wrong, and thus by his action he had brought loss and suffering to many. He should therefore express sorrow and penitence for conduct which had brought unhappiness and loss to his friends. The members of the Committee hastened to say that they realized the nature of his temptation and they trembled to think what they themselves might have done under such pressure. The correspondence is creditable throughout and breathes a spirit of charity, of understanding, and of strong good sense.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY

We must now hark back to the pastorate of Dr. Stearns. The young pastor was a man of irenic spirit and did not favor the introduction of matters which would divide the little church. This policy did not satisfy all the members, as witness the following: On March 23, 1837, the use of the church is asked for by the Anti-Slavery Society. The request is signed by John Dallinger, Secretary, a member of the church. The Examining Committee of the church sends a reply to the effect that the members favor the right of a temperate, intelligent, and thorough discussion of every subject in its appropriate time and place, but slavery is a subject on which there exists a great and highly excited diversity of opinion, and the church, having been erected on principles and for purposes in which the whole church is agreed, is no place for controversy. Then,

too, the use of the church-building has not been granted hitherto for lectures and causes to which any considerable part of the church is opposed. So the Committee decides to avoid an innovation which would threaten the peace of the church. Other commodious places are open to those who would discuss the abolition of slavery; so the petitioners are requested to withdraw their application for the use of the meeting-house. The vote on this matter stood 19 to 3, with 5 not voting. This was presumably the vote of the male members of the church, for women were not allowed to vote in business meetings of the church until a much later period.

That the subject of slavery was a very disturbing one is attested by various entries in the records. Thus at the annual business meeting of the church on January 9, 1839, resolutions concerning slavery were introduced by H. M. Chamberlain. After discussion, the resolutions were voted down by a vote of 18 to 9. The majority party then passed a resolution forbidding the introduction of such controversial matter into the meetings of the church. This vote was passed by 15 in the affirmative to 9 in the negative. Alas! the expectations were not realized, for we find that in October of the same year the resolution adopted in January was rescinded and it was then voted "That this church agrees to assume the responsibility of protecting such abolition notices as may be posted in the meeting-house." It was evidently not easy to find a *via media*, for in the records there is a letter from Deacon William Farwell in reply to a communication from the Standing Committee, citing him to appear to explain his non-attendance at worship and the communion service. Deacon Farwell stoutly defended himself on the ground that the church was in fellowship with those who held the doctrine of human slavery. Following the New Testament injunction to tell it unto the church, he had performed his Christian duty by expostulating with the church; and since the church was impenitent, he felt justified in cutting the church off from himself. That the subject remained one of sharp difference of opinion is shown by the fact that in the year 1842 a group of members withdrew from the church to form the Second Evangelical Congregational Church in Cambridgeport. Those who withdrew numbered nineteen, and among them we

find John Dallinger, the youthful Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and several others whose names have appeared in the records as abolitionists.

Meantime the church was evidently growing under the patient and prudent leadership of Dr. Stearns, and toward the end of the first twenty years the question of building a more commodious house of worship was raised. This was after the original meeting-house on Norfolk Street had been twice enlarged. Finally it was decided that the time was ripe for such a forward move, and land was purchased on Prospect Street. Permission was secured from the court to sell the old meeting-house and to invest the proceeds in the new building; and finally, in the year 1852, the edifice which is now in use was erected at a total cost of $24,500. This sum paid for the land, the building, and the furnishings. We may note, in passing, the wide difference between the dollar in those days and the dollar that we are familiar with today. The present-day worshippers have just spent upwards of $27,000 for the repair and renovation of the place of worship. This sum has paid for a new heating plant, a new floor, new pews, the painting of the interior, and the rebuilding of the organ. What it would cost to pay for land, building, and furnishings today would probably stagger the imagination of the fathers who obtained so much value for so modest an expenditure.

In the year 1854 the pastor, Dr. Stearns, was called to the Presidency of Amherst College and there he proved to be no less successful as an educator than he had been in Cambridge as a preacher and citizen. Not only that, but he was also successful in the training of his children. The mantle of his ability and Christian character has descended upon his grandchildren, among whom are numbered Mr. Alfred E. Stearns, Principal of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mr. Harold Stearns Davis, an officer of the Old South Church in Boston, Fannie Stearns Davis Gifford, well-known to readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and Professor William Stearns Davis of the University of Minnesota. Of such a man as Dr. Stearns it may truthfully be said that he being dead yet speaketh.

BRIEF PASTORATES

Following the long and notable pastorate of William Augustus Stearns, the church was served by several excellent men; but they did not remain long enough to make a lasting impression on the church or the community. Thus the Rev. E. W. Gilman was called from Lockport, New York, to assume the mantle laid down by the President of Amherst College. The mantle did not seem to fit the new leader, for we learn from the records that a council was called to decide whether the new pastor should go or stay. The council could find nothing in the life or record of Mr. Gilman to warrant his going; but evidently there was lack of harmony, for Mr. Gilman resigned his position in October, 1858, after serving only two years and three months. The correspondence between Mr. Gilman and the church is creditable to the spirit and character of the successor of Dr. Stearns, and we may conclude that it was an instance of a man finding it hard to follow the king. "What can the man do that cometh after the king?" asks Koheleth, and Mr. Gilman's answer to that situation was to resign. After that the church was without a minister for the space of three years, but an explanation of this long period is found in the fact that outstanding professors from Andover Seminary and other pulpit giants were heard with great satisfaction by the congregation, and so the task of finding a new leader was not hurried.

In 1861 the Rev. James O. Murray, a graduate of Brown University and of Andover Theological Seminary, was called to the vacant pulpit; his pastorate coincided with the Civil War period, lasting until 1865. Dr. Murray was a noted preacher, and after four years was called to the pulpit of the famous Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City. Somewhat later we find that he became a member of the faculty of Princeton University. Strange to say, there are no allusions to the Civil War in the records of the church. No account is given of how many young men enlisted in the army, nor is there any expression or echo of the sentiment of the community concerning the war and its objects. We wish that Deacon Farwell or John Dallinger might have been Clerk of the Church at that time to record the change of feeling toward this great subject.

Speaking of Deacon Farwell leads me to remark that according to an entry in the record, he removed from Cambridge, applied for reinstatement, which was granted, and then a letter of transfer to another church was granted him.

The next pastor after James O. Murray was the Rev. Kinsley Twining, who came to the church on September 12, 1867, and was dismissed in April, 1872. Mr. Twining was called from Cambridge to be the pastor of the Central Congregational Church in Providence. He was followed in the Cambridge parish by the Rev. William S. Karr, who came here from Keene, New Hampshire, in January, 1873, and remained here until November, 1875, when he resigned to become a member of the teaching staff of Hartford Theological Seminary. Eight months later he was succeeded here by the Rev. James S. Hoyt, and Dr. Hoyt deserves more than passing mention.

SUCCESS AND DIVISION, UNDER A VIGOROUS LEADER

The Rev. James S. Hoyt came to this church from Port Huron, Michigan, in September, 1876. His pastorate stands out as notable after the briefer periods which intervened between Dr. Stearns and himself. Under his leadership the chapel was built in which the Sunday School meets and wherein prayer-meetings and social gatherings are held. Under his leadership also the church received the largest additions to its membership; but then followed the most serious division which it ever experienced and the loss of a large number of members to the Shepard Church, as it was then called, under the pastorate of the Rev. Alexander McKenzie.

It was soon after the coming of Dr. Hoyt that an evangelistic campaign was conducted in Boston under the leadership of Moody and Sankey. This campaign resulted in the addition of many members to the churches of Boston and Cambridge. The church on Prospect Street received seventy-two members by letter and ninety-five members on confession of faith, a notable record. These additions indicate that Dr. Hoyt and the church were alive to opportunity, for no campaigns of any sort ever send such numbers of new members to a church unless there be life and coöperation expressed by that church. In 1877, one year after the coming of Dr. Hoyt, the church

celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. The celebration was memorable. It consisted of a service held in the church on the morning of September 20 (a week day) at 11 o'clock, during which the pastor delivered an historical address, a dinner served in Union Hall at 2 o'clock, and a reception and social gathering in the evening. It is worthy of note in passing that the Committee of Arrangements of that day consisted of seventeen members, all men. Of course this committee called upon the ladies to decorate the church and to do many other things, but it was evidently a man's world fifty years ago in which it was not considered proper to appoint women to membership on important committees. In connection with that anniversary, Dr. Hoyt wrote and the church published a memorial volume bearing the title "Fifty Years of Church Life." In this volume we find a full account of the founding of the church, and a record of its history during the first fifty years. It also contains the names of all the members who united with the church during the period and also the names of all the children in the Sunday School. Among the latter are not a few who are prominent in the life of our city today. If I should read the list, there would be found several members of the Cambridge Historical Society who are present at this very meeting. The thanks of all students of local church history are due to the pastor of fifty years ago for his painstaking work. During the period under review the chapel was built, and this addition to the property has been of great value. It consists of a large room capable of seating two hundred people. It is high in the roof with plenty of air space overhead, and adjoining it are church parlors and a large room used by the Primary Department of the Sunday School.

A question of business management arose in connection with the building of the chapel, which produced an unfortunate division in the church. From the beginning the deacons had been entrusted with the title to the church property. The founders were evidently a bit afraid of the parish system, for the Massachusetts courts had held that in case of a division of opinion between church and parish, the property belonged to the parish. Under that decision many congregations had been deprived of a place of worship, and the founders of this

church therefore did not organize a parish. When the new church was built on Prospect Street, however, stock was sold and the subscribers became the owners of pews in the new meeting-house. These pew-owners had certain rights guaranteed them in their pew-deeds; and when the chapel was built, the pew-owners wanted more rights and they applied for incorporation as an Ecclesiastical Society and then they voted that the deacons be requested to transfer the title to the church property to this incorporated Society. This the deacons declined to do, and they resigned from office. The property was duly transferred, by vote of the church and of the newly-elected deacons, and then there followed the transfer of members to the Shepard Church. Nearly a hundred members in all thus removed their membership and their loyalty from the church on Prospect Street to the church on Mount Auburn Street. It is apparent that the change in business administration was carried by logic and by votes, but sentiment is a powerful element and the sentiment of many was offended and serious division was the result. Dr. Hoyt must have had much to do with the proposed change, for we find that an effort was made to force his resignation but without avail. About a year after the departure of so many valuable members we learn that he resigned and removed to Keokuk, Iowa, where he became the pastor of the Congregational Church. This division in the church had one good effect, which has proved to be long-lasting: it served as a warning for the next fifty years, for nowhere can a church be found which has maintained greater harmony under different pastors and where greater consideration is shown to the minority when the members differ in judgment. The pastorate of Dr. Hoyt, then, is seen to have been a period of vigorous growth in membership, a time of building and of adding to the material equipment of the church, a time of very happy celebration and then of differing judgment and unhappy division.

AN OUTSTANDING CIVIC LEADER

After the departure of Dr. Hoyt the church set about the task of finding a new leader; and when that leader was found, he proved to be a most fortunate choice for both the church

and the community. The Rev. David Nelson Beach, the man invited to become pastor, left the church in Wakefield to carry on a very vigorous and valuable work in this city. It was in December, 1884, that Dr. Beach came to this city and here he remained, incessant in labors, until March, 1896. It is particularly because of his leadership against the saloon in Cambridge that Dr. Beach is remembered. He threw himself into this struggle with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a crusader. He was not alone in this contest, for there was a remarkable group of outstanding citizens in Cambridge at that time, such men as Robert O. Fuller, Frank Foxcroft, Professor Francis G. Peabody, Frank A. Allen, a former Mayor and a member of the Prospect Street Church, men like Mr. E. A. Whitman and Hollis R. Bailey, still living in our midst. Other pastors, too, of the calibre of Father Scully of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church and the Rev. Alexander McKenzie of the Shepard Memorial Church, were in the annual campaigns against the liquor traffic. And younger men just reaching the voting age, such as Mr. Theodore Raymond and Frederick W. Dallinger, now our Representative in Congress, worked valiantly. By common consent Dr. Beach was Generalissimo of the temperance forces and right valiantly did he lead to victory.

During the pastorate of Dr. Beach a memorial organ was presented to the church by Mrs. Julia N. Harding in memory of her husband, Mr. Charles L. Harding. The workmen who have just rebuilt it and equipped it with electric action, declare that the material of which this Hutchins organ is built is without a flaw to this day, a tribute to a noted organ-builder of an earlier day. Another gift which expresses the spirit of affection is the Bullard memorial window in which Christ is portrayed blessing little children. This Tiffany window was presented to the church by friends of the Rev. Asa Bullard, widely known and greatly honored for his work in building up and extending the Sunday School work of the Congregational churches.

RECENT PASTORS

When, because of illness in his family, Dr. Beach left Cambridge in 1896 for the West, he became a pastor in Minneapolis and then in Denver, and finally rounded out his very active

career by serving as President of Bangor Theological Seminary for twenty years. He was succeeded here by the Rev. Reuben A. Beard, who came to the church in October, 1897. Dr. Beard had enjoyed a legal as well as a theological education, and during the time of his leadership the church felt the hand of a capable administrator. The weekly offerings came more and more to be the chief source of income for the church. Formerly pew-rents were relied upon, but pew-rents suggest a stable population and the family pew as an institution. Pledged weekly offerings are now very much the rule in the great majority of churches, and Dr. Beard utilized the new method effectively. The various women's societies were united in a comprehensive society known as the Woman's Guild with several important departments through which the women coöperate in the support of local charity and philanthropy and also in the national and world-wide missionary activity of the Congregational churches. Thirty years of successful activity have put the stamp of success upon this woman's organization. Dr. Beard's ability, however, attracted the attention of the denominational leaders and he was called to an administrative position in connection with the missionary work of the denomination. After a few years of this service he was called to the pastorate of the First Church in Fargo, North Dakota, which he has served for twenty years and where he is still to be found.

After the resignation of Dr. Beard the church called to occupy its vacant pulpit the Rev. Charles E. Beals, then preaching at Greenfield. Mr. Beals was pastor from 1903 until December 31, 1907. Warm-hearted and devoted, he was greatly loved and was widely-known because of his interest in modern movements which express what is known as the social gospel. He served as Scribe of the Boston Ministers Meeting and was also the Secretary of the Sagamore Conference, an annual gathering which brought together men interested in promoting harmony between Capital and Labor, and also in promoting international good-will and peace. As a result of such interest, affiliation, and training, Mr. Beals was sought after by the American Peace Society and served as Field-Secretary of that organization for a number of years. He is now the pastor of the South Main Street Congregational Church in Manchester, New Hampshire.

In October, 1908, the Rev. William M. MacNair was called from the church in Mansfield, Massachusetts to become the pastor of this church and it is his privilege to be the pastor at the time of this historic celebration.

PROGRESS AND CHANGES

The most important events and changes of the present pastorate have been the incorporation of the church, the building up of the Sunday School, the raising of an endowment fund, the quiet and successful raising of a Jubilee Fund for the repair and renovation of the church property, and the enlistment of a notably large group of men in a Bible Class known as the Prospect Class for Men.

The incorporation of the church and the transfer of the title deeds to all funds and property was effected without a ripple of dissent in 1918 in contrast with the stormy experiences which accompanied the transfer of church property in the days of Dr. Hoyt. The reason for the change was found in the fact that the pew-owners were a diminishing body. When the original pew-owners died, their heirs did not always remain in Cambridge, so that gradually it became a difficult matter to muster a quorum at business-meetings of the Society. Because of this practical difficulty, added to the fact that the source of church finances was found increasingly in pledged weekly offerings rather than in pew-rents, the members of the church became incorporated in 1918. From this time onward the church is legally designated "The Prospect Congregational Church in Cambridge." At the present time all funds are held by the Treasurer of the church, and all business is transacted at the annual meeting of the church corporation. The First Evangelical Congregational Society in Cambridgeport has become a thing of the past. In connection with the necessary legal steps which were taken in carrying out this important change, the services of Mr. Hollis R. Bailey should be mentioned. Mr. Bailey gave valuable counsel, effected the necessary transfer of property and funds, and then declined to make any charge for his legal services, making the remark, "A church is not a moneymaking institution and I am very glad to give

my services." The church feels under deep obligation to Mr. Bailey for his generous assistance.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

During the past twenty years the Sunday School has been one of the largest in Cambridge. It has a membership of approximately four hundred. It was the growth of the Sunday School even when the church was without a pastor in 1908 which had much to do with the willingness of the present pastor to accept the invitation extended to him. In the unselfish service given by able men who have served as superintendents of the School through the long years of the century, the church has been most fortunate. No men have given more faithful and devoted service than Mr. George H. Cutler and Mr. Frank D. Meade, who have been in charge during the past twenty years, the latter still serving. The devotion and faithfulness of the leaders have resulted in a generous response on the part of officers and teachers and are likewise evidenced by the surprisingly large number of boys and girls who attend year after year without missing a single Sunday.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND

Twenty years ago the church had no endowment. It had a charity fund of $1,000 known as the Valentine Fund, and there was also a small fund of $500, the income from which paid for insurance upon the organ. Many wealthy men had been connected with the church, but no bequests were made in the earlier days. It remained for a humble woman, supposedly poor, to begin the endowment fund. During the winter of 1908–09 Miss Mary Sprowle died without heirs and bequeathed to the church the sum of $1,000. During the same winter there accrued to the church from the sale of Hope Church property, title to which had long been vested in this church, the sum of $3,000. Then came a bequest from the estate of Hon. Frank A. Allen, a former mayor of the city, of $3,000, and this was followed by an equal amount from the estate of Mr. Frank C. Bill, for many years an active and honored member of the church. Deacon John L. Chapman gave $1,000 in memory of his wife, the income to be used for the maintenance of a bed

in a missionary hospital in India. A special gift of $1,000 was received from the Misses Douglass and $900 was added to the funds by means of numerous small pledges taken in 1917 when the church celebrated its ninetieth anniversary. Deacon Russell L. Snow made the church a beneficiary in his will and the Endowment Fund was increased by about $8,000 as a result. The latest addition to the fund comes from the estate of Mrs. Lavinia Tapley who passed away this very year. This bequest is for $1,000. These bequests and gifts do not constitute a large total, but they are of great value and they help greatly to stabilize and strengthen the church during a time of changing conditions. It is hoped that others will feel moved to make the church a beneficiary when they write their wills, for by so doing they will help to perpetuate an institution which has proved its value in the work of building up life and character. Such an agency, needless to say, will always be a valuable factor in the life of a modern city.

THE JUBILEE FUND

Meantime the living members of the church have established an excellent record for generous giving. The pledged contributions of the members plus the income from the endowment funds have proved sufficient to meet the annual expenditures. The church has never had a debt and closes its books year after year without a deficit. It was pointed out seven years ago that the one hundredth anniversary was approaching and that a fund should be raised to pay for much needed repairs. The suggestion met with favor and a Jubilee Committee was appointed to find ways and means of raising the necessary funds. More than $2,000 was raised at once and expended upon the chapel. Then year by year the Jubilee Fund grew, built up chiefly by the pledged gifts of the members of the church, supplemented by the use of dime-banks which were distributed through the Sunday School and also by an occasional church fair. The Prudential Committee at first suggested $10,000 as the amount to be raised. This was speedily changed to $15,000 and as the fund grew the Prudential Committee decided that at least $25,000 would be needed. This amount has been raised, and then additional expenditure was authorized by vote of the

church, the additional amount to be borrowed from the church funds and the amount to be replaced within the next five years.

The subsidiary organizations of the church

A place should be found in any review of a church's history for mention of the subsidiary organizations. The Woman's Guild has been mentioned as organized by Dr. Beard, who was pastor thirty years ago. But the women were organized much earlier than that. One of the books preserved by the church bears on the title page this inscription:

Ladies Sewing Circle,
Prospect Street Church, Cambridge,
Organized April 2, 1866

On reversing the book we find at the other end of the volume another inscription, which reads as follows:

Female Auxiliary Tract Society
of the First Church in Cambridge
and the First Evangelical Church in Cambridgeport
December, 1828

This old record-book indicates that the Sewing Circle was the successor of the Female Tract Society or else that some individual officer kept the old record-book and thriftily used it for the later organization. At any rate it is apparent that from the beginning it has been customary to have subsidiary organizations in the church. The Sunday School also dates back to the very beginning of the church, even antedating the formal organization of the church in 1827. The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, which originated in the Williston Church in Portland, Maine, in the early eighties, has had a branch in this church since 1884. During the forty-three years which have elapsed since that year, the Society has maintained an uninterrupted existence. With an ever-changing membership it is always a young people's society and is always active in good works. The Prospect Club grew out of a knitting-club which during the war period did a prodigious amount of knitting for the soldiers. This club met with Mrs. MacNair, the wife of the pastor, and the members formed such warm personal

friendships as well as developed such activity in good works that they decided to continue their organization under the name of the Prospect Club. For ten years this group of women has proved itself to be a valuable factor in the life of the church. One other group must be mentioned, the Girl Scouts. In 1917 Mrs. Frank D. Meade began her work as Captain of Golden Rod Troop No. 3 of Girl Scouts. Since that time the troop has grown to be one of good size, numbering about seventy-five members. They meet once a week in the chapel and enjoy two months' camp-experience every summer at Gloucester under the supervision of Mrs. Meade. In all Scout competitions this troop invariably gives a good account of itself, and the training thus received enables the girls to give a good account of themselves after they have moved on to more adult life.

This brief survey has served to bring before us the One Hundred Years of Church Life which has been enjoyed by one of the churches in Cambridge. One cannot study the records of a century without being moved to consider some of the problems which confront the churches in our modern and rapidly changing cities. The Roman Catholic Church settles its problem by counting all baptized persons as members as long as they live, unless they are excommunicated by the hierarchy, and it holds its members by means which are known to all. The National churches of Europe claim as members practically all persons who do not express a preference for some dissident church, while here in the United States church membership is wholly a voluntary matter and no individual is reckoned a church-member unless he chooses to be reckoned as such. More than that, many persons become enrolled as church-members in early life and then through change of residence or because of economic or social reasons, or change of religious views, they may abandon habits of worship and active affiliation with an organized church of any description. The presence of thousands of aliens in our American cities, the existence of a large element of lapsed church-members, and the rapid shifting of population from one geographical area to another, offer to the organized church a challenge, an opportunity, and a problem of the first magnitude. Some church leaders try to solve it in one way and

some in another, but the existence of this complex problem threatens the very life of the church if the right solution be not found. The opinion of the writer of this paper is that the solution is to be found in a correct conception of the function of the church and a steady adherence to a program which will always express that conception. The future of the Protestant churches will not be made secure by endeavoring to make the church a great catering establishment and inviting the multitude to come in and be fed. Christ indeed fed the multitude, but there is nowhere any suggestion that he intended to go into the restaurant business. Church suppers may have a place in the economy of the church but that place must be entirely subsidiary. Christ healed the sick and expressed his sympathy with human suffering, and I am sure that he wants his followers to be active in combating the ravages of disease; but the church will show its devotion to the ideals and purposes of its Master by aiding the hospitals rather than by turning every church building into a hospital or clinic. The work of the church must ever be to bring the souls of men into harmonious relation with God, and to do this the church must magnify its teaching function and spread far and wide a knowledge of spiritual truth. It must teach a true philosophy of life and it must use all the means in its power to inculcate virtue and to combat vice. The church, in other words, must make *Religion* its great issue. As an entertainment bureau it may have great competition and be excelled, in the opinion of many, by theatre-managers and others. But when the church seriously bends all its energies to developing a knowledge of the will of God and resolutely sets itself the task of standing for that will of God, then it will be a great *teaching* force and it will inevitably be a great *reform* organization and it will never suffer from lack of employment.

As I have observed the decay and death of various local churches in New England cities, I have become aware that the decay and dissolution are usually due to the loss of *vision* and *purpose* or to an erroneous conception of what the church is for. A splendid old Congregational Church, once filled with the families of prosperous merchants and manufacturers, found itself abandoned by most of its constituency, the native New

England element. Canadians came in, but the members of the church simply closed their ranks and did not reach out for new worshippers. That church is not yet closed but it has been dead for many a year; and only the financial gifts of members of the denomination at large keep it tottering toward its grave. On the other hand, another church found itself deserted by those who once attended its services, but new neighbors hailing from Newfoundland moved into the vicinage. The newcomers were welcomed and that church is a strong self-supporting church in the Methodist communion to this day. The Protestant church of any denomination which aims to be a class church and tries to maintain itself as a church of native-born Americans amid rapidly changing conditions in our modern cities, is facing an ominous future. But the church which faces these very real conditions with a spirit akin to that of New Testament times, will find itself able to repeat experiences of New Testament days and will live on doing an increasingly valuable work. For to the church is committed a message and a mission, not to any little fraction of humanity however pleasing and agreeable that fractional part of humanity may be, but to all the races of mankind. And these numerous races are at our very doors. The downtown church feels the pressure of the changing population first, but every branch of the church is destined to feel it sooner or later. In these closing words I am giving you my most serious thought in regard to this matter and beg to report that the Prospect Congregational Church in Cambridge has found itself able to complete the first century of its existence because as a church it takes a broad view of the function and mission of the church. It houses a larger body of worshipping people today than it did twenty-five years ago, and it crosses the threshold of the second century of its labors with faith and confidence.

EARLY CAMBRIDGE NEWSPAPERS

BY GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT

Read January 24, 1928

IN the fall of 1839 two school boys, Peter L. Cox, aged fifteen years, and his brother Henry S., aged twelve years, conceived the idea of publishing a weekly paper for Cambridge. These boys belonged to a family of printers. An older brother published a paper in Virginia, and Peter became a well-known printer; of the younger no record appears.

Their first paper was called *Brother Johnathan's Youngest* on account of its small size, of which only nine or ten numbers were published, the name having been suggested by the title of a paper called *Brother Johnathan* printed in New York on extra large-sized pages. This was followed by the *Myrtle*, a weekly paper with a five and a half by nine inch page; terms, four cents per month, single copies one cent. The change appears to have taken place February 28, 1840, being numbered Vol. 1, No. 20. The paper contained a variety of foreign and domestic news, list of marriages and deaths, and three local advertisements. It was discontinued March 6, 1840, No. 21, Vol. 1. It was succeeded by the *Magnolia*, October 22, 1840, published by the same parties, Peter L. and Henry S. Cox; terms, four cents per month, six copies twenty cents. August 26, 1841 (Vol. 1, No. 13) appears the following statement: "The *Magnolia* is intended for a family paper in which Temperance will hold a prominent position and it is the intention of the publishers to make it worthy of an extensive patronage."

The paper was enlarged January 1, 1841, and again June 3, 1841, the terms being now one dollar per annum in advance. The brothers continued the paper until July 2, 1842, in its latter days being called *The Cambridge Magnolia*. With this number the paper was discontinued for lack of patronage, the advocacy of temperance preventing its receiving the support of many and the friends of temperance giving little support.

This was followed by the *Penny Post*. The paper bears no name as editor or publisher but was probably issued by Peter and Henry S. Cox. There is only one copy of the *Penny Post* in the Cambridge Public Library and one in the Harvard College Library, both of the same date. This number appears to be the only one published and no other copy appears in any collection known to me. It contained a number of news items and about a page of advertisements, few of them from Cambridge. It was probably the end of Cox brothers' connection with Cambridge papers.

The *Cambridge Palladium* next appears, July 28, 1842, published weekly by Leonard Cox, Jr. and Company, terms, $1.50 a year, single copies three cents. The file in the Cambridge Public Library has only one copy, dated July 28, 1842; that in the Harvard Library, apparently a complete file, begins January 7, 1843.

When revived it had a fair amount of advertising and a large part of its space was filled with discussion of the merits and failings of the fire department. The paper continued until September 30, 1843.

The *Cambridge Herald* appears January 8, 1848, continuing until March 9, 1848, published weekly by Jacob N. Bang at $1.00 per year, single copies two cents.

The *Cambridge Owl*, April 13, 1848 — *The Owl*, July 13, 1848 to October 12, 1848 — the *Plain Dealer* and *Spirit of the Times*, October 26, 1848, Charlestown and Cambridge, were published weekly, single copies one cent, by Jacob N. Bang, a Boston printer located on Cornhill and living on Winsor Street, corner of Market, Cambridge. The reason for this change of name, four names in nine months, does not appear, as the papers are of the same character. This change of name appears to have been common to all these early papers, those of the Cox brothers as well as those of Bangs.

The *Plain Dealer* probably had a short existence as only one copy appears in such files as I have seen.

None of these papers could be called newspapers and apparently they must have had a small circulation. In 1846 the *Cambridge Chronicle* appeared, being the first really local newspaper in Cambridge, the first being dated May 7, 1846 (the

same week in which the first city government was inaugurated). It was published weekly, terms $2.00 per annum. The first editor was Andrew Reid, whose career was of short duration.

Mr. Reid was succeeded by John Ford, whose name appears February 7, 1847 and continues until 1858. Mr. Ford was in reality the man who laid the foundation of the *Chronicle*.

Among those who followed Mr. Ford were George Fisher, Linn Boyd Porter, F. Stanhope Hill, and F. H. Buffam. Mr. Fisher enjoys the distinction of being, so far as my memory goes, the only Cambridge editor who has been publicly horsewhipped for his editorial utterance.

In December, 1891, Messrs. Seagrave and Bean purchased the paper and have continued to publish it to the present time.

In 1852 appeared the *News Boy*, published every fortnight by J. J. Lowell, A. A. Hayes, Jr., F. and P. W. Norris, proprietors. None of these names are in the Cambridge Directory and it appears like the venture of some boys.

The next adventure was the *Wide Awake*, published every two weeks, February 12, 1865, by Thomas Davis, otherwise known as "Propeller" Davis, a resident of North Cambridge, doing business as a printer in Boston. As I recall, he was a somewhat erratic seeker after notoriety. It probably had a short life as the library contains only one copy.

The Moon, a paper for boys and girls, was published by Josiah S. Cushing and Edward F. Dunham, May 1871. It contained short stories and a fair amount of advertising. Only two copies are in the files of the Harvard Library, probably all that were issued.

In 1866 appears the *Cambridge Press*, published by James Cox. Hamlin R. Harding, former mayor, and Patrick H. Raymond, chief engineer of the fire department, served as assistant editors with Mr. Cox. Warren T. Billings, a Boston reporter by occupation, succeeded Mr. Cox in 1898 and the paper came to an end in 1905, with Alice Spencer Geddes and Arthur Lloyd as editors.

In 1878 (March 7) D. Gilbert Dexter started the *Cambridge Tribune*, published weekly, terms $2.00 per annum, the first number having the following introduction:

"In addressing the public for the first time through the

Tribune we do not desire to come with any flourish of trumpets but in that modest way and manner which shall lead all who may see this initial number to be assured that we mean what we say. We do not intend to make promises which shall never be fulfilled but only those which will be more than fully realized in the work to come. We are aware it is not an easy task to establish on a firm foundation a new enterprise of this kind. Having looked the matter square in the face we feel safe in saying that success is assured us from the outset provided we give the public a good and reliable paper. This we promise faithfully and fully to do. We believe there is room in our goodly city for another journal and acting upon this belief we fling our banner to the breeze.

"Here we hope to give the best in literature and in other departments which go to make up a first class journal. In speaking thus some may say we do not intend to have anything but literature. Not so; we propose to have the best local paper which time and money can produce. While we shall not neglect 'the locals' in the least, we still propose beyond that to make the *Tribune* of so high a standard in literature and other departments that it will find a ready and hearty welcome everywhere, especially in all our New England homes. It is our intent to make it the New England paper in a strict sense of that term. Our motto is independence without fear of any sort or party; charity towards all. Standing on such a platform, is it too much for us to ask the aid and influence of every true man and woman?"

The *Tribune* began publication in Brattle Square and has always been an Old Cambridge paper. The paper began its publication just after the people had become aroused by the disclosures of wastefulness and dishonesty at City Hall. The water registrar had been found to be a defaulter, the city messenger had approved bills for stationery in large amounts which were in fact for cigars, and there was general looseness in the transactions at City Hall. The valuation was decreasing, the rate of taxation was increasing ($5.50 per $1,000 in four years), population decreasing. The *Tribune* commenced its career by publishing a stenographic report of the meeting of the Board of Aldermen each week. After a few months this was

abandoned, whether from lack of interest or expense I never knew. The *Tribune* has always been well conducted, being especially neat in its typographical appearance, and its columns were always free from language calculated to cause offense. Among its contributors in the past years have been the poets Longfellow, Lowell and Holmes, T. W. Higginson, William Winter, Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, Alexander McKenzie and Edward Abbott, Bishop Lawrence, Professors Norton, James, and Hart.

Mr. Dexter was followed as editor by William B. Howland, F. Stanhope Hill, Henry H. Harrison, Edward F. Gamwell, and J. Lee Robinson.

In 1879 appeared the *Cambridge News and Real Estate Advertiser* which continued its existence until the death of its founder, Daniel A. Buckley, in 1901. The paper was a free lance, being essentially the personal organ of its owner. It probably was practically supported by him and its circulation among regular subscribers was limited. Its issue did not exceed six hundred copies weekly as three newspaper directories agree on about that circulation. Mr. Buckley's direct and incisive ways of stating facts caused his editorials to be read and repeated by more people than the editorials of papers with a larger circulation.

A weekly paper began its publication in August 1885 or 1886. The editor was John S. Browning, an advertising agent for the *Boston Globe* and other papers, and the paper carried at the head of the editorial column the following statement: "a local newspaper politically independent, the official advertising medium of the city, devoted especially to governmental affairs."

In 1888 the *Cambridge Daily* began its publication, which continued a little more than a year, the longest period any daily had been able to exist at that time. The editor and manager was Warren F. Spaulding, who made the paper interesting and its appearance attractive.

The next paper to greet the public of Cambridge was the *Cambridge Times*, published in East Cambridge by James Livingston. It was issued weekly, price two cents, and its field was practically East Cambridge, although general news of the city was not neglected. Mr. Livingston was followed in

1907 by George R. Brine, who had in earlier years served as a member of both branches of the City Council. In 1901, to meet what some citizens thought was a need of our city and to uphold the interests of the Democratic Party locally, appeared the *Cambridge Democrat*. Grenville S. MacFarland, a recent graduate from Harvard College, was its editor and he kept the paper going until December 19, 1903.

The paper was published weekly, price two cents, and its editor wielded a vigorous pen in behalf of the virtues of his party. A division among its supporters finally caused its death from lack of support.

Following the *Democrat* appeared the *Cambridge Sentinel*, October 31, 1903, a weekly Democratic paper, subscription $1.00 a year, edited by William E. Nickerson. Mr. Nickerson was followed by Henry J. Mahoney and Daniel J. Toomey as editors about 1907. Upon Mr. Toomey's election as clerk of committees, Mr. Mahoney became the sole editor.

The same year appeared the *Union Advocate* on August 20, 1903, T. A. P. Boardley and C. H. Evans editors, a local paper published weekly in the interests of unionism.

In 1905 the *Cambridge Mirror* began its publication, with William H. Lee editor. This weekly journal was "published in the interest of Afro-American people and of our advertisers."

In 1906 the *Advocate*, another paper in the interest of our colored fellow-citizens, appeared, according to the newspaper directory. It appears to have been published by the Advocate Publishing Company, William Grandison, as printer-manager, with John W. Springer as editor. The paper later passed into the hands of the Commercial Pioneer Association and in 1910 it became the property of J. Thomas Harrison, a printer. Mr. Harrison continued the paper until 1922, when it suspended publication.

In 1907 the *Cambridge Free Press*, a weekly paper, began publication. Little can be learned about it, as the paper bears no name as editor. It does not appear to have been published much over a year.

In 1911 the *Cambridge Recorder*, a Democratic paper, appeared under the editorship of Edward J. Sennott and John J. Scott. Mr. Scott was followed by James H. Murphy.

The same year the *Cambridge Evening News* began its career under the guidance of George H. Pratt, apparently for about a year.

In 1912 the *Cambridge Standard* under the management of Charles Wayland Towne, former publisher of a local paper in Newburyport, began its efforts "to help to make Cambridge conscious of its possibilities, constructive in its planning, cleaner in its politics." This was the most determined attempt to establish a daily paper in Cambridge which has been made so far. It was published about six years and owes its long career to Theodore H. Raymond, whose ambition it was to build a paper in Cambridge with a standing and influence like the *Springfield Republican*.

The *Gridiron* in 1915, an independent sensational political paper, published weekly, subscription $1.00 per year, had a short career of about a year under the editorship of Harold D. Carew and was followed in 1917 by *Public Opinion*, of the same character and subscription price, with the same editor and having an equally short life.

In 1920 the *Cambridge Sun*, a semi-weekly, entered the field under the editorship of Ralph R. Stratton. Its publication lasted apparently a little over a year.

In 1920 the *Cambridge Home News*, another semi-weekly, began its existence, with John J. Wallace as editor. For a short period it was issued daily and finally ended after a period of about six months.

The last paper to appeal for the support of the public was the *Cambridge News*, which began its publication March, 1922. This was a weekly publication devoted to "the betterment of the civic, mercantile and industrial conditions in Cambridge." Its editor, J. Frederick Flemming, was a reporter by occupation. It was really an advertising sheet, containing little news, and had only about six weeks' existence.

REMINISCENCES OF FOLLEN STREET

By Maria Bowen, with the help of neighbors and friends

Read June 15, 1928

There are many famous streets in Cambridge, two in chief. Our noble North Avenue, renamed Massachusetts, has still its great width, which used to serve for a race track, and also for the droves of cattle and sheep that came over the Brighton bridge and went up to the railroad. The name is changed, in order to connect it with the former Main Street, proceeding into Boston; the sidewalks have been widened enough for a regiment; and the spacious yards and fine houses have been crowded out of existence by buildings set close together and by low-browed shops. Here and there, especially in its upper course, a picturesque and simple house is left, and a few fine old elms, that must have seen the redcoats hurrying back from Concord. One of the deltas that mark Cambridge everywhere, left by the intersection of old roads, is here. When Cambridge had only six thousand inhabitants, people had to take a lantern to go home by, in the evenings; there were no sidewalks to speak of, and going up North Avenue was like walking in the bed of a brook.

Brattle Street has not at all "fallen from its high estate," saved by the public-spirited devotion of a good citizen, Mr. Joseph Warner, who gave up his vacation one summer to guard against the encroachments of those who would have taken private land to straighten the highway and so destroy "the streamlike windings of that glorious street," Wordsworth's line being as appropriate here as to Oxford and "the High." Church, or Tory Row, as Brattle Street was called, still keeps its great estates in good condition, as it goes on its leisurely way toward Sweet Auburn, now Mount Auburn.

A causeway led across the marshes to the Port, passing several ropewalks. It was reached from Brighton Street, renamed Boylston Street, to avoid connection with cattle.

Brighton Street passed Winthrop Square, the first centre of Cambridge. Mr. John Holmes is the authority for the following story. (He was devotedly attached to Cambridge and acquainted with all her traditions.) In colonial times, near the village of Old Cambridge, and on the road to the river, there was a small grassy square, flanked by trees and surrounded by substantial houses, some of them three stories in height, with dignified porches. In one of these lived Dr. Kneeland. When the Revolution broke out, the undisciplined levies, who joined the militia, did much damage, ruining the velvet sward of the large Common or bowling green, breaking up the pews of Christ Church for firewood, and making bullets out of the leaden coats-of-arms let into the low tombs in the graveyard. Dr. Kneeland's Tory opinions were so well known that he boarded up his lower windows for fear the mob might break them, and his children were taught to be very polite to the soldiers. Little Mary Kneeland grew up to marry Dr. Levi Hedge. She was very bright and witty, a little bit of a woman. She told Mr. Holmes that, as a child, she had acquired a great reverence for the soldiers, a forced respect; so that when the troops left Cambridge, and the sentry boxes remained empty, she used to drop a curtsey as she passed each. What a pretty picture the little figure must have made with mobcap over her curls and apron over her frock, as she dropped her frightened curtsey before the empty sentry boxes on her way to school!

Mr. Holmes went to school in a house on the corner of Winthrop Square. Next to it, or opposite, was the Manning house, where Jacob Manning had his little shop. The upper part of the windows turned back, and was fastened up. The shoemaker sat inside, with his red cap on. Braided ears of corn hung from the beams over his head. The husk was stripped back from the ear, and the different parts of it were braided together to hang it up by, while the ear hung down to dry. Mr. Holmes told this in an evening call on friends. When his host alluded to Royal Morse as omnibus driver Mr. Holmes said: "I rise with local pride to correct you. Cyrus Morse was the driver." Mrs. Morse remembered that General Putnam and other officers were "very jolly," and that it was the fashion then to have pockets very high on the coats, so that

they had a joke that a fellow had to sit on the fence to get his hands into his pockets.

Harvard Square was known as "the village" in the forties. College House, and Lyceum Hall with its steps, the University Bookstore, the Post Office, and a few unpretentious shops surrounded the space where the hay scales were placed. The great branching elm lent such dignity to the scene that Mr. Howells said no square in Italy, with all its fountains and sculptured buildings, was more beautiful. The college still had its green setting, and its elms had not been attacked by insects.

The King's Highway ran from Charlestown, up Kirkland Street (later called Professors' Row), across the unenclosed Common, through Mason Street, and up Brattle Street, to Watertown. It ran straight through two little deltas, beyond the large football delta, and it was often extremely muddy. Cambridge was always, in early times, either muddy or dusty. Mr. Lowell said, in his poem on Indian summer, that he loved even the dust of his native place; but probably he was not so fond of the mud. Two of the Howe children, who lived on Kirkland Street, were often sent to their grandmother's house (No. 2 Garden Street) and they loved to go, though they named the muddy path the Slough of Despond, as they had recently read "Pilgrim's Progress." One day they were given a little delicacy of some kind to carry to their grandmother. They sat down on the edge of the sidewalk to discuss some deep question before venturing into the Slough and they placed the basket at their feet and forgot all about it. It tipped over, and the delicacy fell down into the catch-basin!

The Concord Turnpike crossed the Common to North Avenue. It now crosses Garden Street, making an X, so that it is difficult to tell which street is which.

The street from Arsenal Square east was known as Waterhouse Lane or Court until Waterhouse Street was named. Colonel Jeduthan Wellington of Belmont, and other malcontents, caused much litigation when the Common was enclosed, as they had been accustomed to drive across it, and did not wish to go around the longer way.

Garden Street goes up between the Botanic Gardens and the Observatory grounds, and on into what were once open fields

and pastures. It was marked by the two large Parsons and Dixwell estates, on the left, and, below them, by a cluster of small houses, and one, older and larger, with a pretty garden, where Mrs. Clarence lived. When this last was built, wolves were said to have been on Observatory Hill. There was a very large elm outside the iron gates of the Observatory, and another at Judge Phillips' gate, round the corner of Linnaean Street. A double house stood on the right of Garden Street, and a wide way led down back of it. This was where a respectable colored colony lived, named Lewis. Their forbears were "squatters" here before the Revolution. At the end of this driveway was a one-story cabin, vine-covered, and inhabited by a little Indian woman, Mrs. Sampson, very meek and quiet, well-known in the neighborhood. Towards the point of intersection of the two streets stood a black shingled little house with an outside staircase, in a plot full of dockweed. On the corner of Concord Avenue stood the omnibus stable, afterwards moved and made into four houses. On the corner of Chauncy Street was a small pond, where frogs were first heard in the spring. There were several brooks in Cambridge. One came from a spring under Buckingham Street hill, passed under Craigie Street, where it had a railing, and emerged in the Worcesters' garden on Brattle Street, where it formed a pond much used by skaters in the winter. A smaller pond was in the hollow on Jarvis Field until filled for the Harvard ball-field.

Waterhouse Street long retained its wide and very pretty grassy sidewalk, with a little pathway through the middle. The Hodges house was on the corner, with a grass border in front, rising to a mound where stood two beautiful trees. The seller begged, with tears in his eyes, that the trees might be spared, at least for his lifetime, but it was in vain. His large garden ran down nearly to a point, and held rose bushes, vegetables, and a greenhouse, where were the only black Hamburg grapes, besides Judge Parker's and Mr. Batchelder's, known in Cambridge, and given only to sick people. At the very end and point of this garden stood an old house, said to have been the place where Washington dined when he first arrived at the army. It had its own little garden yard, and stood with its gable to the street. It was long kept as a dining place, famous

for its good food. The elm under which Whitefield preached was nearly opposite, in front of the house of S. Lothrop Thorndike. This house is now owned by the Browne and Nichols School.

Follen Street is not like the great highways already described; it is only a small side street, and began its life in a still smaller way as a lane. The large house on the corner of Waterhouse Street was built by her Boston relations for Mrs. Follen, who was a Cabot. The Cabots bought the land reaching from the Waterhouse fence to Chauncy Street, and sold one lot to a Mr. Randall. Mrs. Follen was a charming writer of prose and verses, some of them for her little son. Dr. Follen was an exile from Germany because of too liberal opinions, and taught German in Harvard College. Mrs. Fales, a Boston lady, was boarding in the house later sold to Dr. Francis, and when she saw the surveyors laying out lots from the lane, she at once declared that she would build a house on the end lot, in order to have an unimpeded view down to the Common.

Mrs. Fales was the oldest child of Edward Gray, a Boston lawyer, and Frederick (Mrs. P. T. Jackson's father) was the youngest. The parents both died when the first child was eighteen, and the youngest was only four. Madam Turrell, whose daughter Susannah had married Edward Gray, took the four-year-old boy, and brought him up. He lived with her until her death in Brattle Square, Boston. Here she had lived through the siege of Boston and all through the Revolutionary War, and she entertained at her house Lord Percy and some of the British officers and, later, General Washington. When she was eighty-one years old, she wrote out some of her memories, and Mrs. Jackson has a copy of the paper. She gave to her granddaughter, Mrs. Fales, the chair in which Washington sat at her house. At the Fales' auction, Mrs. Tower bought this chair, and her daughter still possesses it. The Fales house has a curved front, like the Judge Fay house and one other in Cambridge; it has had a most varied history. Mr. and Mrs. Clarke lived here when Mrs. Fales died, and Mrs. Clarke, who was the daughter of Albert Greene, the poet, of Providence, Rhode Island, died here soon after her marriage. Then a Mrs. Comegys (strange name!) held a young ladies' school here for

a time, until three or four young professors made it their headquarters, called it "the Den," and filled it with merriment. They were Mr. George Lane, Latin professor; Mr. J. D. Whitney, geologist; Mr. Winlock and Dr. Benjamin Gould, astronomers. The Woodman family lived in the house for the year 1860, and were succeeded by Mrs. Lamb, who was a Fales. When she went out West with her children, Mrs. Horace Mann bought the house, and a kindergarten was held here by her sister, Miss Elizabeth Peabody. The little shed in the garden was placed there to hold Benjamin Mann's collections, and his mother called it the "Entomologicon." The next possessor of the house was Mr. Charles Henry Moore, professor of fine arts. Then came the Reverend Mr. Fitch from Andover, then Mr. Smith, a retired Episcopal clergyman, and then the present owners, of Huguenot and Alsatian descent. They keep the fence running over with roses.[1]

William Vassall is thought to have built the house later occupied by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse. William was a brother of the two other Vassalls who lived and died in Cambridge. He was born in the West Indies, graduated from Harvard in 1733, and died at Battersea Rise, Surrey, England, in 1800. His country house was on Waterhouse Street, Cambridge. He also owned "a magnificent estate near Bristol, Rhode Island." His town house was in Boston, on Pemberton Hill, with a frontage on Tremont Street. Here he was living until the Revolution. He was a fine man, and one of the most prominent of his name in this country .(See "Vassalls of New England," by Edward D. Harris.) He sailed for England, being a Loyalist, in 1775. Part of the confiscated estate belonged to, or was taken by, Deacon Walton, the carpenter. Mrs. Jaques, who was a Richardson and lived in a house on the site of Hastings Hall, said she often came, as a child, on hot summer evenings, to sit on Deacon Walton's pile of boards at the corner of the lane. As an old lady, she lived in Belcher Hancock's house on Church Street, after Dr. Wyman left it. She used to wear a turban. She was very kind to poor students, though not well off herself.

After the Revolution, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and his second wife, Louisa Lee, daughter of Thomas Lee of Brattle

[1] Professor James Haughton Woods now (1934) owns it.

Street, lived in the Vassall house. At this time there were but three doctors in Cambridge, and they were not especially friendly to each other. One of them was attending a very sick child, and was obliged to call on the others for consultation. Dr. Waterhouse said: "The child will live." Dr. Gamage said: "The child will die." Dr. Jennison said, in his little, high, squeaky voice: "The child will neither live nor die!"

The Vassall house needed repairs and, while this was done and the old chimney taken down, Mrs. Waterhouse built another house, beyond her orchard, and moved over. Her housekeeper's adopted daughter amused the little old doctor with her pretty childish ways, and his tall wife was often seen bringing the old man out on the front porch to sit in the sun. He died in this house, and his wife went back to the other, and died there at the age of ninety-one. For her gardener and his wife, she had built a cottage next to the new house, which was made of stout timbers, "like a ship," as she wished. Mr. Robert Apthorp lived here for a time; then Mr. Dana, of the savings bank; then the latter's married daughter, Mrs. Gay; and then the house was sold in 1850 to Francis Bowen, professor of philosophy. Follen street had now become a court, shut off at the cottage by a fence. The lane was quite rural, and descended between Dr. Follen's house and a small house on the corner of the avenue, which was painted white, and trailed a line of sheds behind it, hedged by tall lilac bushes. A brook once ran across the middle of the lane, and disappeared in, or traversed, the large garden of the Follen house, which gave its name to the street. When the Rev. Daniel Austin rented the Follen house in the forties it was surrounded by a white hawthorn hedge. The house was known later as the Todd house. It belonged to Purser Todd of the navy, and was confiscated by the government on account of debt, though rather unjustly, as the purser was expected to pay while his ship was off the African coast, and he had no means of getting the money. His widow (daughter of Aaron Hill of Brattle Street) insisted on living in the house, on account of her dower rights, which included access to the kitchen pump. She let one front room to Mrs. Delano's little school. The government kept the right-hand half of the house, and here was the Nautical Almanac office. Another room was

let to Chauncy Wright, and then the Winlock family took the whole half until they moved to the Observatory. A Mrs. Magee kept student boarders here once, and a family named Germaine lived in the back of the house. Mrs. Todd took a great fancy to Mr. Winlock, and he was asked to persuade her to sell her half to Dr. H. P. Walcott, and take the price in the form of an annuity. The Todd house was twice set on fire, and the flames, issuing from the roof, made an alarming sight.

The Randall house was bought in 1850 by Mr. Tower, sixth descendant from John Tower who came to this land with his friend, the great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, and settled in Hingham about 1636, where his house is still standing. Opposite this little house, the only one in the street that owned a horse and buggy, a gate in the fence led into a large garden, where Dr. Converse Francis' house was raised on a bank and faced the avenue. It held a famous library, which had double rows on some of its shelves, filled with every kind of books, from folios to novels, all the delight of their genial and lovable owner. His wife was a learned and ardent botanist and the kindest of neighbors. Here could be seen two engravings of Ary Scheffer, the Christus Consolator over the study fireplace, the Dante with Beatrice in the parlor; and there was always the pleasure of discovering some fascinating book in any of the rooms. The barn came near the Fales house. A pretty "green" stretched across the corner where the street made a sharp turn or elbow. A path bisected the green, and a carpenter's tiny shop (afterwards burned) and old apple tree were at the farther upper corner next the orchard. Daniel Chester French, the sculptor, whose father, Judge French, lived in half of the double house across the Common, used to build snow forts, in the winter, on this green. His friend, Herbert Chamberlain, helped him, and the next day the girls in the street would storm the fort with snowballs. Daniel French made his first statue, a snow lion, in his father's yard. When he was eleven years old, he was looking from the window, and said: "Father, I see a lion in that snow, and I am going to get him out!" This was what Michelangelo said when he attacked the block of marble now in the Florence Duomo.

Other houses began to gather. Professor Bowen's brother

George, who had sailed as a boy of fourteen to seek his fortune in Valparaiso, Chile, and had married a Spanish wife there, came back to move his mother and her family from the West, and build a house for them next his brother's. It was modelled from the Dana house in which Professor Jeremiah Smith dwelt at the corner of Phillips Place and Berkeley Street, where they stayed meanwhile. They brought a red prairie rose with them, which covered the veranda for a time. The street was now cut through to Garden street, and three more houses were built, one by Mr. George Saunders on the corner of Concord Avenue, and two below the cottage by Mr. Wood and Mr. Hall. One of these belonged, later and successively, to Mr. A. C. Martin (architect), Mr. Whittemore, the Follen-Cabots, John Mays, Mrs. Page (who had a beautiful garden and a beautiful yellow Angora cat), Mr. Holcombe (professor of political economy), and finally to Professor Black. The other house was long occupied by Mr. P. T. Jackson, and is now generously fitted out as a hostess house for Harvard students convalescing after illness.

Christ Church rectory was built for Dr. Hoppin and later occupied by his successors, Rev. James Field Spalding, Rev. Basil King, and Rev. Prescott Evarts. Later, the orchard, bought by Professor Bowen, was sold, and three more houses were built, by Mr. Barnard Mackay, Mr. Hersey Goodwin, and Mr. Hall. The cottage was moved away, giving place to the homes of Professor Richards and Professor Ropes. The George Bowen house was sold to Mr. William Goodwin, Greek professor; afterward to Rev. Mr. Dennen, Dean of St. Paul's.

The State Arsenal, the pride of Follen Street, occupied a large block of ground facing Garden Street, and, when Follen Street was cut through, it formed the corner. It was built round a hollow square, where the flagpole was guarded by cannon on each side and pyramids of cannon balls. The following facts are taken from Mr. Archibald Howe's paper read before the Cambridge Historical Society in 1911. In 1796, Massachusetts bought from Joseph Bates, wheelwright, a piece of land bounded on the west by "Milk-Porridge Lane" (now a part of Garden Street), where barracks and a laboratory stood. In 1813, more land was bought from Bates' heirs, and in 1817 Dr. Waterhouse sold land from his nine or ten acres to Amasa Walker, quarter-

master-general. In 1818 Governor Brooks reported to the Senate that a distributing arsenal and laboratory, on Carver Street in Boston, was complete; and also a fireproof brick building in Cambridge, one hundred feet by forty feet, three stories high, for permanent deposit of equipment. In 1848 some old wooden sheds at the arsenal were sold, and a building erected one hundred feet by twenty-five feet, one and a half stories high, finished attic. This [may] have been the building at right angles to that of 1818 and parallel with Garden Street [but if so, a second story was added. The keeper lived in the farther corner, Mr. Rayne, and then Mr. Chamberlain]. In the same year, 1848, an exchange of land between Mrs. Louisa Waterhouse and the Commonwealth made Follen Street possible. In 1852 on the land near Follen Street, a brick building was erected, for gun carriages, it is said. Finally, in 1864 or 1865, a machine shop was built in the rear of the rest. This was occupied in 1876 by the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club.

In the Civil War, of course, the arsenal was guarded. Students were excused from recitation to form the "Arsenal Guard," and some of the children were afraid to go to the end of Follen Street, because, inside the high fence, a sentry in blue coat, with musket on shoulder, walked up and down. The small boys were, on the contrary, much attracted. George Saunders, who lived on the corner opposite the arsenal, was one of many who marched beside the student companies as they came up from college to relieve the Home Guard. When he carried over cookies and doughnuts, he was told he had saved the men's lives, and to go home and ask his mother to send more. His little brother, who was very engaging, was called "the Child of the Regiment." These children could look from their windows across open fields to Agassiz Museum, and they liked to jump from the fence into the tall grass. They watched Mrs. Waterhouse's gardener go back and forth from the little gate in the fence at the back of the barn, and through the orchard, to his cottage on Follen Street. One Sunday, after college chapel, everyone went to one of the arsenal halls, the iron doors were thrown open, and Dr. Andrew Peabody spoke to the soldiers drawn up in front, and read "America" for them to sing, which they did rather badly. Later the First

Regiment marched up Garden Street and Concord Avenue, with Colonel Cowden on horseback at their head. It was a hot day, and the men were halted, while pails of water were brought to them from the Hodges house on the corner of Waterhouse Street.

When the arsenal was removed to Springfield, the cannon were placed on the Common, and the whole block of ground was bought by Mr. Dresser of Raymond Street, and then, in 1884, by E. H. Abbot, who built the fine stone house that stands enclosed by the high brick wall surrounding its garden.

Follen Street has lost its pretty village green, its grassy borders, its imposing arsenal, nearly all its soft-whispering pines, and some of the embowering elms. One, in a garden, the tallest tree in Cambridge, a landmark for the farmers driving down from the country, and chosen by the orioles to build their hanging nests, was blown down in the great September gale of 1815. But Follen Street is still bounded by two large gardens, one at each end; it still has its yards, its many children, its professors and clergymen and friendly neighbors; and it keeps its memories hidden in its heart. May its future be as pleasant as its past!

THE VALUE OF ANCIENT HOUSES TO A COMMUNITY

By George Francis Dow

Summary of a paper read on October 23, 1928

The following paragraphs are reprinted from the *Cambridge Tribune* as a matter of record. At the meeting on October 23, 1928, Mr. Dow showed a great many very interesting lantern slides of old New England houses, accompanying these by a running commentary. It is unfortunate that the printed page can give only the least suggestion of the speaker's antiquarian learning and artistic taste; but these are already known to everyone who has visited the Museum of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, of which Mr. Dow is the Director, at 141 Cambridge Street, Boston.

Mr. Dow contended that the value of ancient houses to a community was not only sentimental but practical, and that they gave a flavor to a community which can be sensed by everyone. Visitors to New England from western states go to Salem to see not the new courthouse but the House of Seven Gables. Last year no fewer than twenty-five thousand persons made this visit, he said.

He told of a Virginia society which was the first to preserve old houses in this country and then showed lantern slides of the Paul Revere house, first to be restored in New England.

As pictures of other restored New England houses were shown, Mr. Dow told briefly of their history and particular interest; there was the Whipple house in Ipswich, for instance, which in its overhang still shows traces of old Indian red, the first paint used in New England, composed of ochre and fish oil; the Harrison Gray Otis house in Cambridge Street, now headquarters for the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; the Sweet-Ilsley house, once a tavern, in Newbury; the Cooper-Austin house, one of the remaining twenty-one pre-Revolutionary houses in Cambridge.

When he showed the Abraham Browne house in Watertown, Mr. Dow said one of the ambitions of his Society is to create an outdoor museum in Watertown similar to that planned by Henry Ford for Dearborn. In passing he observed that the Browne house possesses the only known three-part casement window frame in America.

CAMBRIDGE PHYSICIANS I HAVE KNOWN

By Dr. Edmund H. Stevens

Read April 30, 1929

Your president, Judge Walcott, has asked me to present a few facts regarding the physicians practicing in Cambridge in 1871.

I shall not undertake to give any biographical sketch, but simply speak of them as they were known to me.

In 1870 the following twenty-three physicians of Cambridge, members of the Massachusetts Medical Society, signed the fee table which was issued at that time: Charles H. Allen, W. M. Barrett, A. P. Clarke, Edward R. Cogswell, Stephen W. Driver, John T. Goddard, Alfred F. Holt, Anson P. Hooker, C. K. Kelley,[1] Henry O. Marcy, James R. Morse, Albert L. Norris, J. T. G. Nichols, Frances R. Stachli, J. B. Taylor, Charles E. Vaughan, H. P. Walcott, Alonzo Carter Webber, W. W. Wellington, Edward H. Weston, Franklin A. Wood, Morrill Wyman, and James A. Dow.[1] There were also three very active practitioners who were known as homeopaths; namely, Dr. Charles H. Farnsworth, Dr. Hiram L. Chase, and Dr. William K. Fletcher. There were a number of others not on this list who were practicing in Cambridge at this time, the total number of physicians being in the neighborhood of forty.

Twelve of these physicians had served in the Civil War as surgeons; two others, Dr. S. W. Driver and Dr. E. R. Cogswell, had also served in the war, but not as medical officers. After this strenuous service they returned to civil practice with a strong desire to make a success of their life work. They were all men of high ideals. The history of Cambridge shows that medicine has always stood high, and it was generally known that the physicians in our city were living up to the high ideals of their predecessors. This made Cambridge a most desirable place for doctors to locate.

[1] Name does not appear in the Cambridge Directory of 1870.— Ed.

It is a lamentable fact that but two of the physicians in practice at the time I came to Cambridge in 1871 are now living; namely, Dr. H. P. Walcott[1] and Dr. James A. Dow.[2]

At that time Cambridge was more or less divided into sections, and I shall speak of the physicians in that order, beginning with Old Cambridge.

Dr. Morrill Wyman had been in the practice of medicine since 1838. He was one of the best known and most highly respected physicians in the state and was actively engaged in his profession in 1871. I have never known a wiser physician than Dr. Morrill Wyman. With his broad training, his love of science, and a marvelous discernment, he noticed many things which escaped the attention of other men. Dr. Wyman became widely known by his publication in 1846 on ventilation. In 1850 he developed the operation for aspirating the chest, which was a great boon to suffering humanity and was recognized the world over as a great advance in medicine. Although he knew nothing of bacteriology, he had an almost uncanny knowledge of the causes of disease. It was a great pleasure to listen as he discoursed upon topics which the medical books of his day did not even mention. He always spoke of pneumonia as a toxemia. What was then known as "acute Bright's disease" he contended was only a symptom of some other disease from which the patient was suffering. Dr. Wyman's advice and help as a consultant was sought by physicians not only in Cambridge but in Boston and all the surrounding towns. He was ever ready to help the younger men in the profession. I can testify from personal experience that his advice was always helpful to the patient as well as to the physician. He would point out mistakes in a most delicate and helpful manner. In calling Dr. Wyman in consultation, one could always feel that the confidence of the family in their physician would never be lessened by his coming into the case. All he asked was that they should be honest and truthful. It was his habit to ask doctors he met if they had read about some new discovery in medicine which he had read about in some foreign journal only the night before. (He was a constant reader of French and

[1] Died November 11, 1932.
[2] Died May 27, 1931.

German journals.) In this way he called their attention to important subjects which otherwise would have escaped their notice. I met him one morning as he was coming out of his yard. He stopped me and asked if I had heard about the discovery of Roux for the cure of diphtheria. Of course I had not. He had read about it that morning in a French journal. He proceeded to give me a full account of it and said he was sure it was one of the greatest discoveries that had been made in medicine for a long time. This was the first development of the diphtheria antitoxin now in universal use. In this way he was always teaching younger men important things. He was always an early riser and had little patience with doctors who were not up and doing early in the morning. I once asked him if he could see a sick child with me at College Hill the next morning. He thought for a moment and replied, "I will be there at six-thirty." When I arrived, he was there waiting for me. He often visited the Cambridge Hospital at seven o'clock in the morning to learn whether the house officers were up and doing. It was not pleasant for them if he found them in bed, unless they had been up during the night caring for some patient. The amount of work he could accomplish was a marvel to other men. Dr. Wyman had much to do with establishing and building the Cambridge Hospital. I cannot better express my affection and esteem for this great man than in the words of Drs. Councilman, Magrath, and Brinkerhoff in the dedication to him of a series of their medical papers: "To the memory of Dr. Morrill Wyman, a physician of Cambridge who as an investigator and practitioner of medicine united careful observation, sound reasoning, and good judgment, we who have known him personally and have received inspiration from his words and life dedicate this series of papers, Boston, Mass., Jan. 1, 1904." Dr. Wyman retired from active practice in 1886, being then about seventy-seven years of age, but he continued to see patients in consultation for the next ten years. His later life was an exemplification of his oft-repeated advice to his patients to "grow old gracefully." He died at the ripe age of ninety-one.

Dr. Henry P. Walcott, who had an office with Dr. Wyman, gave up the practice of medicine quite early and has devoted

many years of his life to public service. As president of the State Board of Health, a position which he held for many years with great distinction, his administration was characterized by such wisdom and sane judgment that he was looked up to by the whole country as a leading authority in all matters pertaining to public health. He is still living,[1] past ninety years of age, and keenly interested in medicine and the general welfare of the community.

Dr. J. T. G. Nichols was the finest type of man and physician. He was a member of the staff of the Cambridge Hospital for many years, starting in the day the hospital was opened. His skill and sound judgment made him a leader among his colleagues and a favorite with all whom he was called upon to treat. His devotion to those under his care elicited the best that was in him. No one can ever show a better record than Dr. Nichols left behind him at the Cambridge Hospital.

Dr. Stephen W. Driver and Dr. Nichols were closely associated in their practice. Dr. Driver stood high in the community and was worshipped by his many patients. He was a valued member of the original staff of the Cambridge Hospital and served it long and faithfully. He continued to practice until he was past eighty. He died at the age of eighty-six, mourned by all who knew him.

Dr. Charles E. Vaughan, who served in the navy during the Civil War, was very highly thought of. His health prevented him from attending to a large practice. He retired in 1890 and spent the remainder of his life in California.

Dr. John L. Hildreth came to Cambridge in 1870. He had practiced medicine for four years in Townsend, Massachusetts, previous to coming to Cambridge. He was one of the members of the original staff of the Cambridge Hospital. For many years he had an extensive practice. He retired from practice at the age of seventy-three, moving from Cambridge to Winchester, where he died, aged eighty-seven.

Dr. W. W. Wellington, a contemporary of Dr. Morrill Wyman, was in practice in Cambridgeport at this time. He was a gentleman of the highest type, an excellent physician, and a most worthy citizen. For thirty years he was secretary of the

[1] Died November 11, 1932.

Cambridge School Committee. He continued his practice until he was past eighty years of age and died full of honors.

Dr. Henry O. Marcy settled in Cambridgeport at the close of the Civil War. He had served in the war as Major-Surgeon. He had a large and rapidly growing practice. To him was due the honor of introducing Lister's antiseptic methods into Boston, where for two years he labored to show the great value of this new discovery, before it was adopted by surgeons in the large hospitals. Dr. Marcy became a celebrated surgeon with an international reputation.

Among other prominent physicians in Cambridgeport were Drs. A. P. Clarke, A. Carter Webber, Edward P. Cogswell, and Alfred F. Holt.

Dr. Alfred F. Holt was an outstanding man with a war record which could well be envied by anybody. Having been graduated in medicine in June, 1860, he settled in Cambridgeport and began the practice of his profession. April 16, 1861 he left Cambridge as a private in Captain J. P. Richardson's Company, this being the first company which was organized and enlisted definitely "for the war." In December of the same year we find Dr. Holt as assistant surgeon of the Thirtieth Massachusetts Volunteers. In December, 1862 he was promoted to Surgeon of the First Texas Cavalry. In 1863 he left the medical department and was made a Senior Major of his regiment. In 1864 he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. From then until the close of the war he was almost always in command of his regiment. November 1, 1865 he was mustered out, having served almost continuously since April, 1861. Dr. Holt returned to Cambridge in 1866 and resumed his practice. In 1879 he was appointed Medical Examiner, an office which he filled with distinction. He was Surgeon-General during three administrations. He was a most efficient health officer of Cambridge from 1880 to 1889. He became very efficient in the use of the microscope. His work in this field was of a very high order. His death left a void which has never been filled.

Dr. E. R. Cogswell graduated from Harvard University in the class of 1864. With many of his classmates he left college to enlist in the service of his country. He served with distinction with the troops enlisted for nine months in the campaigns of North Carolina. He received his medical degree in 1867, the

same year he settled in Cambridge as a physician. Few citizens have taken a deeper interest in the welfare of Cambridge than Dr. Cogswell. For many years he gave a large part of his time to public service.

Dr. James A. Dow settled in Cambridgeport in April, 1870. He came from Windsor, Vermont, where he had practiced medicine for three years. He is still living.[1] He retired from practice several years ago.

Dr. Anson P. Hooker, a famous son of a famous father, was greatly in evidence in the practice of medicine in East Cambridge at this time. He was one of the first surgeons to volunteer his services in the Civil War. He went to the front in 1861 as surgeon of the Twenty-Sixth Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment. On account of broken health he resigned in 1862. In 1864 he was acting as Assistant Surgeon-General of Massachusetts. He died in 1874, loved and respected by all who knew him.

Dr. J. B. Taylor was living in East Cambridge at this time. He represented the highest type of family physician. He was father of our late lamented Dr. F. W. Taylor and grandfather of Dr. John H. Taylor.

Among physicians located in North Cambridge were Dr. James R. Morse, an old-time physician who had practiced in Vermont before coming to Cambridge. He was for many years physician to the Cambridge City Home.

A Dr. Talbot was located in North Cambridge at this time. He was never quite regular in his practice and died comparatively early in life.

Dr. Fletcher located in the north part of the city when he returned from the Civil War.

There were other worthy physicians located in Cambridge in 1871, but time does not permit me to mention each one personally.

Sixty years ago there were a few men in every community who stood out prominently as physicians. Today this is somewhat changed, as the general standing is much higher. The towns in close proximity to Cambridge had one or more men who were held in high esteem and looked up to as leaders. Dr. Lincoln R. Stone of Newton, who is living at the present

[1] Died May 27, 1931.

time, past ninety-six years of age, was a man of this type. He has a good representative in his son, Dr. James S. Stone, a well-known surgeon of Boston. Alfred Hosmer of Watertown, Richard L. Hodgdon of Arlington, J. M. Harlow of Woburn, Frederick Windsor of Winchester, John Sullivan of Malden, and J. W. Currier of Lexington were all leaders in the profession.

Dr. Benjamin F. D. Adams of Watham, son of the celebrated Dr. Horatio Adams of that city, was a remarkably brilliant man. He was chairman of the first Board of Health in Waltham. On account of ill health he was obliged to give up his practice in Massachusetts in 1882. The remaining years of his life were spent at Colorado Springs.

Dr. Horace E. Marion, who received his degree from Dartmouth College, served as a private in the Civil War. He afterward became a student of the famous Dixie Crosby of New Hampshire. He was very well known in this section in 1871, and later became prominent in the profession.

In 1871 Cambridge, with an estimated population of forty-two thousand, had about forty physicians. At the present day the population is estimated at about one hundred and twenty thousand. The latest Cambridge directory has listed one hundred and eighty physicians, sixteen being women.

There are about forty physicians of Irish parentage now practicing in Cambridge. In 1871 I recall but one Irish doctor. This illustrates the fact that men of Irish blood take to the profession of medicine as well as to politics.

The men of whom I have spoken, who were leaders in their profession fifty-eight years ago, were, all of them, men who would have made a success in any profession they might have chosen. They were possibly not so familiar with science as doctors of the present day, but they possessed a large stock of common sense, keen minds, and very acute powers of observation. They were wise and sane physicians who did their own thinking.

From present indications, Cambridge is not likely to have a shortage of physicians. I cannot speak too highly of the physicians who have come onto the stage as the older men have passed off. They are ably keeping up the traditions and high ideals of the great leaders of earlier days.

THE JOHN HICKS HOUSE

BY ESTHER STEVENS FRASER

ONCE more the Hicks House[1] in Cambridge passes through a drastic change. In the hundred and seventy years since its construction, only once has the old house known the peaceful existence of long continued ownership in one family. Change has laid a heavy hand upon this home, transforming and obliterating many features that it once possessed. Now that the old house is passing into a totally different existence, I have been asked to tell what I know concerning the place which was, until ever so recently, my home. If I am prejudiced in its favor or overenthusiastic, I hope to be forgiven, for old houses have a way of appealing to me through their own personality and atmosphere.

John Hicks, the builder of this house, came of a long established Cambridge family of high reputation. His grandfather had owned quite an estate in Cambridge, namely the land which lay between Dunster and Holyoke, Winthrop and South Streets, the latter running then along the Charles River bank. Dunster was an important street in the early days of Cambridge when it was the thoroughfare between Harvard College and the ferry (operated from the foot of Dunster Street), which offered the quickest means of reaching Boston. John Hicks' father, Zechariah Hicks, received an excellent education at Harvard and became master of the famous old North Writing School in the North End of Boston. It is quite probable that John lived at his father's house for a number of years, even after he married Elizabeth Nutting of Cambridge in 1748. For some years the writing-school master rented a fine brick house in North Bennet Street, Boston. Then suddenly, in 1760, there appears in a Boston newspaper the notice that all

[1] This article, reprinted from the January, 1932 issue of *Old Time New England*, by courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, amplifies and coördinates Mrs. Fraser's remarks at the meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society on June 21, 1929.

the possessions of Zechariah Hicks will be sold at public vendue. The same year, 1760, when John Hicks was thirty-five years of age, we find him purchasing of Caleb Prentice in Cambridge the northwest corner of what had formerly been the Hicks estate for 26 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pence. It is also said to have been the place where Jonathan Nutting lived in 1630, before setting out to become one of the founders of Concord, Massachusetts. Perhaps he was an early forbear of Mrs. Elizabeth Nutting Hicks.

A carpenter by trade, John Hicks built for himself a six-room, gambrel-roofed home, with a large central chimney ten feet square at the base. The house, which faced west, was laid out upon the usual floor plan of one room each side of the front hall, with staircase winding up in front of the chimney and generous closets utilizing the space behind. Not much of the John Hicks finish has remained in the house due to the changes it has suffered, but the front staircase, with its sturdily turned balusters and pendent acorns, has attracted much attention from architects. There is also the one wall of simple panelling in the second-story south bedroom, where the fire place is set in an unusual splayed recess. There is no panelling or wainscot of any kind around the other walls of this room. Arguing from this wall of panelled woodwork upstairs, some people believe that the two main rooms downstairs also must have had panelling at one time. Personally, I cannot agree with this line of reasoning, since I found *original* wallpaper on plaster in places where neither paper nor plaster would have been if these rooms had been wainscotted or panelled in any way. We must remember that in 1760, when this house was being built, plaster walls from cornice to baseboard were much esteemed for the display of newly fashionable wallpaper. Boston had one or more "paper-stainers" at work producing wallpapers that were soon to make panelling and extensive woodwork wholly out of date. However, one room in the third story of the Hicks house did have a wall of simple woodwork, namely, a large panel over the small fireplace which had a plain moulding around it and no mantel shelf, while vertical boarding carried out the rest of the wall on the fireplace side. Around the other three sides of the room, horizontal boarding,

chair-rail height, completed the woodwork. This and the other third-story room were the only rooms in the main house with any sort of wood wainscot.

Here John and Elizabeth Hicks with their growing family of boys and girls came to live in 1762, when the house was completed. The older boys became students at Harvard, one after another. The eldest son, John Hicks, Jr., after his graduation purchased a half interest in Green and Russell's printing establishment and became co-publisher of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Post Boy*. Another son, Jonathan, at the age of eighteen, graduated in the class of 1770 and studied medicine, becoming eventually a surgeon in the Revolutionary army. Zechariah Hicks, another son, became a saddler by trade and founded the firm which still exists under the name of W. W. Winship. Occasionally the firm exhibits a little trunk made by Zechariah Hicks at his early shop in Cornhill, Boston. Of the daughters, several married men prominent in Cambridge social and political life, whose descendants still form part of the old-time aristocracy of Cambridge. A great-great-grandson of John Hicks, Mr. Herbert Saunders, for many years curator of the Shepherd Memorial Association and secretary of the Cambridge Historical Society, was my authority for much of the family tradition herein set forth.

The Hicks house must have been a center of family storm and stress in the 1770's. John, the head of the household, was an ardent patriot, while his son, John, publisher of the Boston newspaper, was violently Tory in his sympathies. We can imagine some heated debates wherein neither man was willing to compromise with his strong principles. According to family tradition, one cold December night in 1773 John Hicks, senior, rose from bed while the rest of his household were quietly sleeping. Rather than let his departure be known by the creaking of the stairs, he let himself out of the second story, north bedroom window, by means of a sheet rope. Hastily he made his way to Boston and joined that willful band of "Indians" who relieved the British of collecting taxes on the tea newly arrived in Boston Harbor. All members of that lawless, but indignantly righteous band, swore themselves to eternal secrecy, lest the British take revenge upon them individually. So John Hicks

did not intend to admit that he had been present at the Boston Tea Party. Returning to Cambridge, in the wee small hours of the morning, he tried to regain his second-story bedroom by the same sheet rope which had helped him down so successfully. But alas, the ease with which he had descended could not be duplicated in the ascent, so he was forced to come in by the regular door. At the foot of the stairs he hauled off his heavy leather boots, leaving them standing there, for he intended to rise early in the morning before other members of his household might be stirring. But John Hicks slept longer than he planned and the boots were discovered by his wife when she came down to set breakfast on the fire. Accusingly she waited for him when he tried to tiptoe down quietly.

"John, you were out last night, weren't you?"

"No, Mother," lied John, as he felt constrained to do if the secrecy of the Tea Party were to be properly kept.

"John! how can you say such a thing? You *were* out last night."

"No, Mother, . . ."

"Well, look at your boots standing here. They weren't here last night when you wore them up to bed. Of course you were out last night!" So she picked up the telltale boots from out of which tea leaves began to fall. Realizing her husband's rabid views on the tea tax question, she immediately guessed what had happened. So she softened her tone and with an understanding smile assured him that *that* kind of night prowling was quite all right with her.

What John Hicks did between December, 1773, and April, 1775, family tradition saith not, but we may suppose that he nursed his wrath at the tyranny of the British. On the night of April 18th–19th, 1775, while John Hicks lay quietly sleeping, British soldiers were marching out to Lexington and Concord. The next morning when news of the fighting trickled back into Cambridge, he went out to his barn that stood in the rear of the house, lifted up the loose floor boards beneath which his musket and powder horn lay hidden, and saddled his horse. Then he rode out toward North Cambridge where he expected to catch sight of the retreating British soldiers. He had travelled as far as what is now the junction of Massachusetts

and Rindge Avenues when redcoats were visible in the distance. Getting down behind some barrels piled here, John Hicks was joined by two other men, Joseph Marcy and Moses Richardson. As the British came abreast of them, these three patriots fired and met death immediately by the soldiers' return volley.

Late that afternoon, when her husband's absence became prolonged through the supper hour, Mrs. Hicks sent out her oldest son remaining at home, a boy of twelve, to see if he could ascertain anything concerning his father's whereabouts. He soon came upon the bodies of the three slain men, secured a cart, and drove home with these tragic remains. Under cover of darkness, lest the British know just how many victims they had exacted from the patriots, these men were hastily buried in Christ Church yard, with no marker for their common grave. At the time of the Cambridge centennial celebration in 1876, an attempt was made to locate the grave of these patriots, and it is thought that they now lie fittingly beneath the monument then erected to their memory.

Back at the Hicks house John's widow began to think seriously of the future. Her eldest sons were setting forth to join the war that had now descended upon the colonies. It might be years before they would return to help look after her. John Hicks, Jr. fled to Halifax, where he remained until long after the war. (Toward the end of his life he returned to Newton, living in comparative ease.) Mrs. Hicks found herself left at home with six or seven children, the oldest being only twelve. With a large house, six open fireplaces to be kept filled with logs when wintry weather should demand it for their comfort, Mrs. Hicks came to the conclusion that the family would be better off in a smaller home. So she gathered together her household possessions and moved two blocks away, on what is now Winthrop Street, to a little house still standing, recently purchased by a well-known Cambridge collector of antiques. Here Mrs. Hicks lived to the ripe old age of ninety-nine years, vividly remembered by her many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

When Mrs. Hicks moved out of the Dunster Street house, the place remained vacant for a while. Situated, as it was, so conveniently near the center of town, the old house was com-

mandeered by General Washington and General Putnam for the use of subordinate officers and for the storage of supplies during the time that troops were quartered in Cambridge.

So much for the traditional history reported by members of the family who remember hearing grandmother Hicks tell stories of her life and experiences. No doubt this story is very near the truth, but it is not quite the whole truth concerning John Hicks and his home. Recent research has brought to light certain information hitherto unknown to living members of the family, and I am somewhat at sea in my attempt to reconcile parts of them with word-of-mouth tradition. However, if the entire truth were known, I am sure we would perceive what worthy motive or principle lay behind these facts I now report, for John Hicks and all his descendants have ever preferred to sacrifice themselves than to alter their beliefs and principles. And John Hicks not only sacrificed himself, but his home also. It is quite possible that he was a greater patriot than Cambridge histories have chronicled.

A succession of documents obscurely filed with many unindexed records at East Cambridge Court House partially unfold the story of John Hicks as a town official. He had been appointed constable about the year 1770, and his name is signed on the back of several orders which he had to serve, "warning" out of town strangers who were likely to become public charges. The first unusual document relating to John Hicks is the one which reports a meeting of the town fathers whereat it was voted to pay sixpence on a pound for every pound of tax money collected. John Hicks accepted the office of tax collector, and posted a bond of a thousand pounds for the faithful performance of that office. This was early in January, 1771.

The next document is a note signed by the three Cambridge assessors certifying that they had assessed the Polls and Estates in Cambridge the sum of £307. 8. 0, and had delivered the list to Mr. John Hicks, Collector, the sum therein named being returnable to the town on or before May 31, 1771.

Then comes a superficial sort of accounting which shows that the total taxes due the town were £307. 8, of which sum Hicks has returned £29.19. 10.3 and £65. 13. 3 were collected from

Hicks to pay the men who had worked on the town roads. This left some £212 still unaccounted for and although it had several times been demanded it had not been settled by the said John Hicks.

So the next document relates to the summoning of John Hicks to appear in court and the attachment of his real estate as surety for his settlement of claims against him. If only we might know the defendant's side of the case, I am confident that the reasons why John Hicks refused to collect or pay the town taxes would prove to be his complete vindication. For we must not jump to the simple conclusion that he was a crooked town official even though he was called "defective." We must not hastily surmise that Hicks collected the tax funds and kept them for his own use. Such a proceeding would have been well known to the townspeople, yet John Hicks' descendants even up to the present day have held town offices with the full support of the people. Surely, if Hicks had been dishonest, the town of Cambridge would not have erected such an imposing monument to his memory as that which stands in Christ Church yard.

No, John Hicks had some other reason for refusing to pay or collect the town taxes. It seems apparent that between 1770, when Hicks accepted the appointment of town collector, and 1773, when he refused to settle the full tax bill for the town, something had happened to cause his change of heart. Was anything going on between the British government and the American colonists, controversial in nature, that would cause Hicks to take a radically rebellious stand?

Most certainly there was. Between Governor Hutchinson and the people as represented by the Great and General Court, a long-drawn-out controversy over abstract political questions had resulted in a two-year refusal to consider such practical business questions as the public debt and the raising of local taxes. Hutchinson, growing impatient and aiming to force definite action, on October 30, 1770 directed the Treasurer to issue his warrants for the accrued debt amounting to 96,000 pounds. These warrants were artfully distributed to the several counties just before the meeting of the General Court, and had the desired effect of getting that body to proceed to practical

business. At this time, the Province of Massachusetts allowed sums for the salaries of the Governor and the Judges of the Superior Court. In June, 1771, the annual tax bill assessed the English Commissioners for the collecting of customs, on their incomes in like manner as other citizens. Governor Hutchinson, however, refused to sign a tax bill that did not exempt these commissioners from taxation.

Now all this controversy over taxes was going on at exactly the time that John Hicks refused to discharge his duty as collector of taxes. No tax money had been raised for two years prior to Hicks having been put into office, and we may be sure that there was a tremendous feeling of resentment toward the entire tax question throughout the province. Considering all these facts, shall we allow ourselves to believe that Hicks was financially crooked, or shall we decide that as a question of principle he was helping on a tax rebellion in common with the people at large, but the cost of which would fall crushingly on himself? The answer seems clear to me — he chose to sacrifice his home to the cause rather than collect from the townspeople that which was under controversy. It was no more radical than his sacrifice of his life after hearing the news of the battle at Lexington and Concord.

In court, when Hicks appeared to answer the summons, judgment must have been against him, for the last document on record reads: "I, David Phipps of Cambridge, Sheriff of Middlesex County, being ordered by Hon. Harrison Gray, Treasurer and Receiver General for His Majesty, to levy by Distress and sale of the estate real or personal of John Hicks, being a defective constable and collector of the town of Cambridge, for the sum of £252 paid by John Foxcroft of Cambridge, do sell, devise, etc. . . . the real estate of John Hicks in the said Cambridge, consisting of half an acre of land with dwelling house, barn and other buildings thereon, bounded westerly on the street leading from the Meeting House down to the Creek . . ." (Imagine the Charles River at Cambridge being called a creek.) This document is dated in March, 1773, a few months before the Boston Tea Party took place.

Now the purchaser, John Foxcroft, was Register of Deeds at the Court House in Harvard Square, succeeding his father who

had held that office among others more important for forty-five years. The Foxcrofts were near neighbors of John Hicks and, I incline to believe, most friendly. Francis Foxcroft, the father, became a member of the King's Council, an office that brought grave suspicion upon the family when political strife came to a climax. He died in 1768, desiring that his mansion house remain in the family. At his death, John Foxcroft took over the mansion house and lived in it until it took fire suddenly one night in January, 1777.[1] Thus we perceive that the purchaser of the John Hicks house was not living in it between 1773 and early in 1777, though it is quite probable that he moved into the Hicks place after the Foxcroft mansion burned. Who, then, did occupy the Hicks house in 1775? Perhaps the Hicks family tradition concerning its occupancy is quite correct.

The foregoing facts relating to the seizure and sale of the Hicks house do not materially conflict with the story that John Hicks lived here until his death in 1775. When John Foxcroft purchased the estate in 1773 at the time of its forced sale, he may have done so with the double purpose of increasing his holdings in that locality, and at the same time helping out his neighbor and friend-in-difficulty, John Hicks. He probably allowed the Hicks family to live on as tenants in what had been their own home, until the tragedy of April 19th upset the entire household. Differences relating to taxation approached their climax between 1770, when Hicks accepted the office of collector, and 1773, when he allowed himself to be forcibly removed from duty. For the sake of his principles Hicks scorned the chance of collecting the taxes and sacrificed his home. Many another man suffered similarly in this momentous war against the mother country. When we consider the force of the conflict we begin to understand the feeling which impelled Hicks to join the Tea Party and to sally forth almost single-handed to meet the British retreating from Concord. Let us suppose, then, that some time after the mansion house was burned in 1777 John Foxcroft moved into the Hicks house with his

[1] "Last Friday Night the Dwelling House of Mr. John Foxcroft of Cambridge was consumed by Fire, the Family having scarce Time to escape with their Lives. The Fire was occasioned by the Carelessness or Negligence of not putting out the Snuff of a Candle the preceding Evening."

— *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 30, 1777.

family. By his will, written in 1802, he devises to his nephew, John Foxcroft, "the house in Cambridge in which I now live, with the land on which it stands and the buildings thereon, and situate on the East side of the road leading to my wharf. . . ." So, at least, we know that Mr. Foxcroft occupied the Hicks house prior to the writing of his will.

In 1817, John Foxcroft, the nephew, sold the estate to Sydney Willard of Cambridge for two thousand dollars. Little is known concerning Mr. Willard's occupancy, yet I hazard the guess that he added the two-story kitchen ell that materially increased the comforts of the Hicks house. This ell contained a transverse hallway and a large kitchen out of which a back staircase ascended to two bedrooms above. Thus the number of rooms was increased to nine, but the former ample closet space behind the central chimney was sacrificed to obtain access from the rooms of the main house. The ell was securely fastened to the main house by two large iron barbs driven into the old sills and riveted to the foundation of the newer structure. It was intended that the two sections of the house should never fall out of level or part company — but how Destiny did trick the builder!

June 22, 1839 the Hicks house passed into the hands of John A. Fulton, painter and glazier. Now came the first period of settled occupancy that the house ever enjoyed. I say enjoyed — and yet I wonder! For change still laid its restless hand upon the old place. It had become so antiquated that Mr. Fulton felt the need of changing nearly all the window sash, building on a bay window, changing window and door trim in the two main rooms downstairs, changing some of the doors themselves, and last of all modernizing most of the old mantels. In what was probably used as the parlor, a funereal black marble mantel was proudly set in place. Mr. Fulton also tore down or moved away the old Hicks barn and in its place built a spacious double house in the latest Grecian style for renting purposes. At the time of his death in 1900, after sixty-one years of unbroken tenancy, Mr. Fulton willed the Hicks house to his wife, Lorinda Howe Fulton, "to be disposed of when a suitable opportunity offered." Mrs. Fulton rented the Hicks house, then known as 64 Dunster Street, for twenty dollars a

month until a suitable disposal of the place might be forthcoming. Possibly at this time the house was nothing but a student rooming house, though I have heard rumors that the old place was once used as a fraternity house. Across the summer beam in the dining room a measured row of holes is the only remaining evidence of the row of steins that once hung there when not in use for rousing old-time beer parties.

The widowed Mrs. Fulton sold the Hicks house and its property in 1903 to Augustus P. Loring who was acting as agent for Harvard University. Harvard continued to rent the old house for a small sum, making a few repairs and suffering the place to fall into greater and greater dilapidation. The house was considered too far gone to be worth repair and of course it was only the land that Harvard really wanted. Eventually the house was rented by a group of Cowley fathers — ascetics living like monks of old, content to demand nothing but a roof over their heads.

At this juncture my eyes first alighted upon the John Hicks house, an event that was to make a great difference in my own life and a slight improvement in the house itself. I had been wandering around several suburbs of Boston in search of an old house to live in, but all those that attracted my attention seemed to be well occupied. However, the Hicks house *looked* vacant, the uncurtained windows made it seem uninhabited. Questioning of neighbors brought out the fact that I must deal with the university if I would become occupant of the house. Truth to tell, the old place looked so wretchedly, with bricks fallen out of the chimney and sagging window blinds, that long vision was required to imagine its possibilities.

By dint of much persistence, the university was persuaded to enter into an agreement whereby I assumed all responsibility for small interior repairs and finish, while they were to put the house in sound condition. Because of the historical associations of the old house it seemed important that the place should not be allowed to fall into ruins, but should be accorded some of the honor to which it was entitled.

August 1, 1922 I first saw the interior of what had once been John Hicks' home. I found most of the original mantels changed, burlap walls lining the front staircase, a high wainscot

of cottage sheathing in the living room, the back stairs completely removed, and on the second floor a partition had been moved so that access to the rear hall was cut off and a tiny little bedroom created thereby. Changing all of these items were my most drastic moves after leasing the house. Also the plate glass front door was retired in favor of a six-panelled door bought for three dollars in a wrecking yard. Orders were given to have all the old wallpaper stripped from the walls that we might have a new start when it came to papering.

While repairs on the house were going forward rapidly, I began to consider the question of old-time wallpapers, and to wonder just what sort of patterns Mrs. Hicks might have selected for her home. Gradually, out of the scraps of old wallpaper, from behind modern door trim and behind 1840 mantels that I removed, there began to emerge fragments of papers that the Hicks family had lived with and others that were selected by families that succeeded them. In the second story north bedroom, I found fragments of fifteen different layers of wallpaper — a succession of patterns and printing processes that makes practically a history of the wallpaper industry for a century and a half in this country. In two other rooms I found pieces of interesting early papers, some of which I chose to reproduce, since they so peculiarly reflected the simple personality of the house.

Studying these early wallpaper fragments, we perceive that the oldest were made by a stencil process, the design being superimposed in white, or black and white, on a tinted ground. Thus I found a diamond pattern in white on a medium gray ground, and another where some sixteen white dots were arranged in a diamond, and a group of black dots following along the right side of the diamond like a shadow line. The third stencil pattern was far more intricate both in layout of design and in its employment of flower forms. Ogee curves of floral sprays interlaced themselves with circles of tiny dots and other ogee curves of large and small beads. This design was all in white on a sort of pompeian red background, the most colorful of the early papers uncovered.

The next papers appear to have been printed with woodblocks. I found one with a pattern in alternating stripes, first

geometrical and then a sort of vine which suggested a motif characteristic of early India prints. This pattern was in white on a subtle gray-blue background. The first paper in that downstairs room which was used for a commissary during the Revolution was a two-color block print — black and white on a medium gray ground. The design was a series of interlaced Chippendale Gothic arches beneath which were several different motifs, one a group of tulip flowers, another a small landscape in which a tiny church is discernible, and another shows a monumental obelisk. Perhaps this monument is in the churchyard, for all I know, for the fragments I found beneath old door trim are too narrow for me to tell where the various parts of this design fit together. The fact that this more elaborate paper was the first on the wall of what may have been the "parlor" suggests to my mind the possibility that the stencil process was used for the simpler and cheaper papers, and was not necessarily earlier than the block print patterns. On the other hand it is also possible that this more elaborate Chippendale paper was put on the wall when John Foxcroft came here to live in 1777.

Once the process of block printing was embarked upon, it was only a few years before the average paper was printed in four or five colors on a tinted background. Two rooms at the Hicks house were hung with that type of wallpaper known as "Directoire," where small scenes alternate with rosettes and are arranged in vertical formation between stripes. In the first floor north room, the second pattern was that of a small boy holding a large watering can above a garden of flowers. It was block printed in several tones of gray on a background of pearl gray with tiny white dots. With this paper a most attractive border in pale gray, terra cotta and white was used in a leaf spray design. The other "Directoire" type paper was found behind a mantel set up in 1840. This 1810 type of wallpaper also had a pale gray background with white dots, but was printed in two tones of dull red, two tones of green, and a neutral brown, besides the white just mentioned. I found very small fragments of a tulip and flower spray border with this wallpaper. After the "Directoire" period, progress was made in color printing and bleached white paper for backgrounds was achieved, but art

retrogressed, so we have little interest in the large scale, poorly designed papers that followed those I have described.

We were optimists when we went to the Hicks house in 1922. While we knew that the university eventually wished to use the land upon which the old house stood, we hopefully looked forward to living here many years before Harvard might develop plans for that particular spot. We foolishly thought that expansion of that region might not come until our own need for the Hicks house had ceased to exist. The year 1928 brought a rude awakening. Plans for the huge new gymnasium began to be developed for our neighborhood. The entire square block in which the Hicks house stood was to be wiped out to make room for this vast athletic equipment. We received notice to vacate as the house was to be torn down within six months' time. The grim ogre of change seemed to be descending on the Hicks house for the last time.

Thanks to the efforts and financial assistance of the Cambridge Historical Society and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, which between them raised almost half the costs, Harvard was induced to preserve and move the Hicks house, which travelled in December, 1928 to its present site at the corner of Boylston and South Streets. The expense of moving was shared with Harvard University, which supplied the new lot and still retained ownership of the building. To facilitate the moving, the main house was severed from the ell, bringing to light the heavy wrought iron barbs previously mentioned. Set upon a new cellar, with new bases to the two old chimneys, the old house submitted once again to complete rehabilitation. A lot of new painting was required, heaps of sand and dust had to be removed, but the hand-made wallpapers had survived the moving quite nobly. Happy in the fact that the Hicks house had not been torn down and thrown out, we renewed our efforts to make the place inviting and livable.

Still, the hand of change was not through with the old house. A brief year passed, then we received notice that our tenancy must terminate in twelve months' time, for the university had other uses for the place. A library for students was to be added to the Hicks house and reading rooms with shelves and shelves

of books were to be installed in the house itself. The old place would no longer be a home but a part of an institution, and with its new use there would pass into extinction the spirit of a home that we had so carefully rebuilt. The house we had loved and grown to be a part of was to cease being the perfect background for our antique furniture. What we did about our new home is another story which we may write some day.

As this article is being written, the work of change progresses. Already the huge brick "addition" in the rear is built and a covered passageway connecting the house with Smith Hall is under construction. We understand that several fireplace walls of simple panelling will be installed in the old house, where the *authorities* believe panelling once existed. Window glass will be changed back to small panes, and simple trim for doors and windows will be uncovered or replaced if possible. Movable bookshelves from floor to ceiling will be placed in all the rooms and probably the entire house will be repainted both inside and out. The ceiling in the first floor north room has been replastered, as it was considered unsound, and the two simple attic rooms have lost their original appearance, since three dormer windows have been set into the rear of that old gambrel roof. The fine old-time kitchen, with its nine-foot mantel and large open fireplace, will be completely filled with library bookstacks and may never again know the cheery blaze of an open fire in wintry weather.

Prayerfully we hope that all this alteration will not entirely obliterate the old-time atmosphere and personality that has clung to the old house so bravely through all the years. In general, too few universities have sufficient respect for old houses, though they may spend thousands of dollars for research in foreign antiquities. They seem to forget that their own local old houses *are* history, a vivid and living record of events that once transpired.

OLD NORTH CAMBRIDGE

By Thomas F. O'Malley

Read October 22, 1929

The literature of Cambridge contains but little relating to the early days in North Cambridge. This does not necessarily mean that North Cambridge history is lacking in interest, but rather that the subject has not been written up. The region between Harvard Square and Alewife Brook is rich in historic interest and association. Cambridge's participation in the stirring events of April 19, 1775 was almost exclusively confined to the territory between Beech Street and the Arlington line. From the beginning of our settlement this upper part of the town, even though it was a place of small farms, was also a place of interesting happenings and of importance to the rest of the community. It has suffered because it has been neglected by the writer of local history. Today, he who would know our early history must search in original material, and he will find a wealth of it in our registry of deeds and probate office, and in the records of the county commissioners. The few facts here offered are gleaned largely from these sources.

In the early days and well down into the first half of the last century streets were not common in North Cambridge. Of course there was the great main highway known to us as Massachusetts Avenue and there were a few lanes. Right here I wish to commend the truthfulness of our early townsfolk; with them a road was a road, and a lane was a lane. They did not call a narrow cartway a road or a street, but a lane, and the name it bore had some suggestion of its purpose or locality. Thus the present Rindge Avenue and Cedar Street was Kidder's Lane, and Harvey Street was Poor House Lane. Walden Street was a meandering cartway, a rod in width, running from the great road across to Vassal Lane, and seems to have had no particular name. Tannery Street was the ancient way to the fish weirs at Alewife Brook and dates back to 1636, when

Andrew Warner was directed to build a cartway there. Beech Street was the connecting link with the highway to Winter Hill and the Milk Row Road to Charlestown Neck.

As a highway Massachusetts Avenue had its beginning in 1635 and was the direct line of communication between Cambridge and the settlements begun at Concord in 1634. It appears in the records under a variety of names, all of which are sufficiently clear to identify it. Some of them persisted to a comparatively late date. Here are a few: "The Greate Countrey Road," the "Road to Menotomy," the "County Road," the "Road to Cambridge Farms," the "Road to West Cambridge," the "Road by Davenport's Tavern," and the "Road by Porter's Tavern." Along about the middle of the last century it became known as North Avenue and finally by its present name.

Although it has always followed the same general direction, there is strong reason for believing that at several places it may have been relocated. At least two relocations have come to my notice. The first was in April, 1724. At a meeting of the Proprietors of the Common Lands, Mr. Samuel Whittemore moved "that the Countrey Road against his lott at Jones's Hill may be removed more eastward, that his lott may be laid more together for the convenience of fencing" (Jones's Hill, otherwise known as Gallows Hill, is the elevation between Linnaean and Arlington Streets). Mr. Whittemore's petition was referred to a committee who advised that the road be relocated as prayed for and it was relocated. The second relocation was in 1832–33, when William Hunnewell, Abel Whitney, and thirty-four other residents in the vicinity of the present Porter Square filed with the county commissioners a petition setting forth "that a section of the County road leading from Harvard College toward Concord by the Tavern late of John Davenport, but now of Reuben Demmon, is now angular, circuitous and inconvenient, and at a moderate expense may be made straight and be thereby rendered shorter and less expensive and much more convenient and useful, without any injury to any one." It is not unlikely and quite possible that the purpose of this petition was to undo the mischief done in 1724 when Mr. Whittemore's "convenience of fencing" was the cause of relo-

cation. At any rate the commissioners found that public necessity and convenience required that the crooked way should be made straight, and decreed that it should go directly from Davenport's Tavern over land of Hepzibah Goddard to the gate post in the fence of Henry Potter, comprising that part of the avenue between Beech Street and Linnaean Street.

At that time the road had little resemblance to the broad, well-kept highway of today. It was a real old-fashioned country road, deep in dust in summer and muddy or full of ruts, according to the temperature, in winter.

In "A Cambridge Robinson Crusoe," John Holmes gives us a picture of the old road between Harvard Square and Beech Street as it was, say in the twenties. I quote from the imaginary conversation between the captain and Royal Morse: "Then, going along toward the West Cambridge road, there's a little three-cornered piece of common where the Light Horse always comes up at Commencement time. Oh, ain't that a handsome sight, captain? Well, up there in the corner is the minister's, . . . and there's Mr. Royal Morse's and Mr. Gannett's. . . . Then you come to the corner [Gannett House] and there's a little pasture lot with a yellow barn on it. They always have a dancing tent there Commencements. . . . Well up the road there's about a dozen houses, say until you get to Davenport's Tavern [at Beech Street]. I suppose Davenport does a great business now with the country pungs that come down in the winter."

"Do you remember the houses, Royal, along the road pretty well?" asked the captain.

"Why, no, I don't, but about a third of 'em was little black story and a half houses, with gambrel roofs."

"Yes," said the captain, "and them houses, in my opinion, saw the row that was going on the nineteenth of April, '75."

This is a not inaccurate description of the old road even down to the days just before Cambridge became a city. There were scattered farmhouses, each with its pointed or gambrel roof (usually facing toward the south), with gables and a long lean-to at the back toward the north. Of these old houses, but four remain to us: the Cooper-Austin house on Linnaean Street, erected in 1657; the Watson-Davenport house on Massachu-

setts Avenue near Rindge Avenue, the main portion of which was built before 1757; the Solomon Sergeant, now McCrehan house, on Rindge Avenue nearly opposite Cedar Street, put up in 1792; and the old Dixon-Goddard-Fitch house which probably dates back to 1692. To these may be added the old house which now stands on a rear lot off Russell Street and which once stood on the avenue. This was a Watson house, also, and probably was the home of Daniel Watson, who in the early part of the nineteenth century owned a large tract of land beyond Russell Street.

While we are speaking of Massachusetts Avenue it might be well to digress for a moment and say a word about the city boundary line, which at Porter Square shoots off in a northeasterly direction and gathers in quite a bit of what seems properly to be Somerville territory before it again returns to the old line at Russell Street. In 1802 Nathaniel Goddard, Benjamin Goddard, Stephen Goddard, Josiah Wellington, and Nathaniel Prentiss occupied the region bounded by the present Massachusetts Avenue, White Street, Elm Street (Somerville), and Russell Street, the greater portion of which was then a part of Charlestown, and they were citizens of the latter town. Tradition hath it that they desired to become members of the First Parish in Cambridge; at any rate they wanted to become residents of Cambridge, so they appealed to the General Court, which happened to be in an accommodating mood, with the result that the hitherto straight boundary line was so stretched as to encompass their property and they were duly "set off from the Town of Charlestown and annexed to the Town of Cambridge." Sixteen years later, 1818, their neighbor, William Hunnewell, also desired to become part and parcel of Cambridge and an equally accommodating legislature again stretched the line and he, too, was "set off from Charlestown and annexed to Cambridge."

It was after 1800 that Porter Square began to assume the appearance of a square. In 1805 while the turnpike craze was epidemic, the Middlesex Turnpike Company was incorporated and proceeded to build a short straight line road from the present Lowell to Boston by way of the West Boston bridge, which had been opened to travel in 1793. Its line brought it through

North Cambridge and to it we owe the opening of a new road, first known as the Turnpike, later as Hampshire Street, and now as Beacon Street. Here the turnpike began at Davenport's Tavern at the corner of Beech Street, passed over the land of Stephen Goddard, Walter Frost, Jonathan Harris, Samuel Kent, and the heirs of Gideon Frost, coinciding with the present line of Somerville Avenue and Beacon Street from Porter Square to Washington Street in Somerville. After 1810, when the county commissioners formally and officially established it as a turnpike, it was called Hampshire Street. It was a toll road. In 1828, after a vigorous battle, in which the West Boston Bridge Company and the Craigie Bridge Corporation took a most pronounced part, a new piece of road was put through to connect with Elm Street or Milk Row Road near the present Craigie Street in Somerville, and a more direct line to Charlestown Neck was established. This piece of road is now that part of Somerville Avenue which runs from the foot of Elm Street into Porter Square.

The next event of importance hereabouts was the coming of the railroad. The Boston & Lowell Railroad was already a fact, but it touched only at East Cambridge. On March 17, 1841, the legislature chartered the Charlestown Branch Railroad with authority to build a line from Swett's wharf in Charlestown to Block Island at Fresh Pond in Cambridge. Its location in Cambridge was over the land of Ozias Morse, over Hampshire Street, crossing North Avenue south of Ball's store, through land of Abel Whitney to a point on land of Porter and Meacham (the Porter's Tavern property), and thence northwesterly in a straight line through the land of Porter and Meacham, Henry Potter, John Davenport, Samuel Sargent, and others until it reached Alewife Brook, substantially the line of the Fitchburg Railroad, its successor in title. (There is a plan of this location in the county engineer's office and is well worthy of examination by anyone interested in our local history.) The act of incorporation also provided that the railroad should cross Hampshire Street and North Avenue *under bridges* — a commendable provision which was destined to give rise to a heated and long drawn-out battle between the towns of Somerville and Cambridge on the one side and the newly established railroad

company on the other. It will be recalled that in 1805 the legislature had chartered the Middlesex Turnpike Corporation and that the corporation had built that part of the turnpike which was called Hampshire Street. For a long time prior to the coming of the railroad, the turnpike had ceased to be a paying proposition. Four days prior to the passage of the act creating the railroad corporation, viz., on March 13, 1841, the legislature passed an act dissolving the Middlesex Turnpike Corporation, and the surrender of its charter was accepted to take effect on June 1 following. By this same act it was provided that the turnpike, except so much as had already been, or before June 1, 1841, should be laid out and established as a town or county road, should be discontinued. Hampshire Street was not laid out as a town or county road prior to June 1, 1841, but remained open and was used as a convenient private way by adjacent owners and all having occasion to use it. In January, 1842 the county commissioners were petitioned to lay it out as a public way and in September following did so. In the meantime the railroad had pushed its construction work and had built the bridge at North Avenue, but balked at building the one at Hampshire Street. In 1843 it brought its petition to the county commissioners, setting out that Hampshire Street, as recently laid out, obstructed and injured the railroad and asked to have the street discontinued or diverted; the purpose being, of course, to avoid the expense of the bridge. The county commissioners couldn't see any merit in the railroad's contention and not only denied its petition, but directed that the bridge should be built. The railroad flatly, persistently, and stubbornly refused to build the bridge, alleging that the county commissioners had no authority to lay out Hampshire Street as a county way after June 1, 1841. After much bickering all around, the towns of Cambridge and Somerville got together and went to the Supreme Judicial Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the railroad company to erect the bridge. The railroad secured eminent counsel, and the case was fought with bitterness and enthusiasm; neither side would yield in the slightest degree. The towns won. The court made short work of the railroad's objection, holding that it, the railroad, was bound to comply with the terms of the statute which created it. This decision

ended the fight, and the railroad company erected a bridge similar in construction to the one on North Avenue. The bridge at Walden Street was first erected prior to September, 1857.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson in his reminiscent chapter, "Life in Cambridge Town," written for "Cambridge of 1896," in referring to our locality in pre-city days, says: "North Cambridge as yet was not, though Porter's Tavern was." Porter's early became an important factor both in the business and social life of North Cambridge, and perhaps marked the beginning of the extensive cattle markets that flourished here for many years. Porter's, however, was not the first of the taverns here. The ancient inn was Davenport's, which stood on the side of the present St. James' Episcopal Church at the corner of Beech Street and the avenue. Davenport also owned the extensive establishment across the road and later known as Porter's. In 1830 John Davenport sold his entire tavern properties to Sylvester Edson, who came from Woodstock, Vermont. Edson managed the property for a few years, when it passed into the hands of the Charles River Bank, which held a mortgage on it. On April 1, 1837, the bank conveyed the property to George Meacham, Ebenezer Kimball, and Zacariah B. Porter; Meacham held a half interest and Kimball and Porter a quarter interest each. Zacariah B. Porter came from Brighton where cattle markets already existed, and soon became the dominating managing factor in the new enterprise. This was four years before the coming of the railroad. The property acquired by Porter and his associates comprised about seventeen and a half acres, and extended up the avenue to around Creighton Street, across the track and down to the present Upland Road, and included, besides the hotel, stables and slaughter houses. Not far away, at Walden Street, was the slaughter house of Henry Potter. The "Cattle Market" and "Porter's" grew apace and the names became synonymous. Within five years after Cambridge became a city it was found advisable to have a bank at North Cambridge to care for the cattle business. In 1851, Zacariah B. Porter, Walter M. Allen, and George Meacham and their successors were incorporated as "the President, Directors and Company of the Cambridge Market Bank" to be established "at the place called Porter's

adjacent to the Cattle Market." The capital stock was $100,000, divided into shares of $100 each. A bank building was erected close by the hotel, not far from the site of the present North Cambridge Savings Bank. In 1853 the capital stock was increased to $150,000. The business of the bank seems to have been almost entirely limited to cattle enterprises — at least it did not go into real estate mortgages, for it did not hold more than a half dozen during its sixteen years of existence. During its period of activity it drew to it some of the most active business men of the community. In 1856, George W. Lewis was president, Warren Sanger, cashier, and George Meacham, Henry Potter, Calvin Dimick, Samuel F. Woodbridge, and Chester W. Kingsley were on its board of directors. About the time of the end of the Civil War the bank closed up its affairs and in June, 1866 conveyed its real estate to Samuel F. Woodbridge.

Porter's had its social as well as business side. Colonel Higginson tells us how the Old Cambridge boys "watched with a pleased interest, not quite undemoralizing, the triumphant march of the 'Harvard-Washington Corps'— the college military company — to that hostelry for dinner on public days; and their less regular and decorous return." Lowell wrote of them that "their gyrating banner . . . on the evening of training day was an accurate dynamometer of Willard's punch or Porter's flip." This was long before the days of the "Cambridge Idea." Porter's and the Cattle Market are now things of the past. The old hotel is gone and its once extensive grounds have long since been cut up and covered with buildings.

There were other taverns here, all more or less connected with the cattle market, and each having its complement of stables and cattle sheds. Also there was the race track, a natural if not a necessary adjunct to a cattle market. The race track, or "Trotting Park" as it was officially called, was on the large tract bounded northerly by the present Harvey Street, in the early days known as Poor House Lane; easterly by the present Cedar Street; southerly by Kidder's Lane, later Spruce Street and now Rindge Avenue; and westerly by a line about one hundred feet beyond the present Clifton Street. Like all orthodox trotting parks this one had its hotel or tavern. The hotel was

on Cedar Street and was known as the "Park House." The building is still standing, much remodelled and now used as a tenement block. From 1849 to 1853 it was conducted by Hiram Woodruff. In 1853 one E. Goodwin had it. In 1855 Francis D. Kidder and Samuel G. Reed, the owners of race track grounds, cut the tract up into streets and building lots.

On Massachusetts Avenue, near the corner of the present Frank Street, was another tavern known as the Elm House. This stood on what was a part of one of the Watson farms. In 1840 a tract of four and one quarter acres, together with the buildings thereon, was conveyed by Elizabeth Watson to Josiah Boynton, who probably first opened the tavern. In 1849 it was occupied by one Anna Corbett, a widow. At any rate she contemplated remaining there as landlady for in November of that year she entered into an ante-nuptial agreement with William Woodruff in which it was recited that she had "certain personal estate consisting of household furniture and furnishings and household stuff now at the hotel called the Elm House . . . which she is desirous to continue to hold to her separate use" notwithstanding her forthcoming marriage. The schedule of furniture, etc., annexed to the agreement exhibits quite an array of equipment for a tavern and may have been the inducement for William to enter into the matrimonial venture. In 1851 Josiah Boynton conveyed the premises to Calvin Stevens, subject to a lease to William Woodruff for two years. Woodruff seems to have had the place for about four years. In 1853 it was carried on by E. C. Bates. Calvin Stevens conveyed the premises to George W. White, who in May, 1858 sold to Samuel F. Woodbridge. Mr. Woodbridge in early life was a butcher and cattle dealer and may have conducted a cattle market there. Part of the lot was sold to the Union Street Railway in 1873. The remainder of the estate was finally cut up into lots. Woodbridge Street perpetuates the name of the last owner of this tavern.

There was yet another tavern on Massachusetts Avenue which flourished about this period and that was the Telegraph House. It stood on the corner of Harrison Street, now Hudson Street, on about the site of McColgan's drug store. In 1850 it was under the management of Daniel Mace, well known in those

days as a horseman. In 1852 it appears to have been conducted by one Cooly. How long it was a tavern I am unable to say. Prior to 1800 the premises belonged to James Munroe who had his blacksmith shop there. Munroe died in 1804. The part which the tavern afterwards occupied was set off to his son Nathaniel, who in 1817 sold it to George Meacham. The next year Meacham conveyed it to Hannah Barrett who had title until August, 1834, when James Haywood became the owner. In September, 1846, Haywood sold it to Ingalls Bunker, of New Market, New Hampshire. It is quite possible that Mr. Bunker may have established the tavern. The premises came into the possession of Mary Mace, wife of Daniel, in October, 1850, and was in her possession down into the seventies.

No discussion of Cambridge hotels or taverns up in this part of the town is complete without mention of the celebrated "Fresh Pond Hotel," long a famous and favorite place of resort. The founding of this hostelry brings us back to 1796 when Jacob Wyeth, shortly after his graduation from Harvard, bought of his father eight acres bordering on Fresh Pond upon which was erected the hotel. Mr. Wyeth conducted the business until he accumulated a large estate when he retired from active business and leased the hotel to his nephew, Jonas Wyeth, who also retired with a satisfactory fortune about 1840. The property in later years was used as a convent school and known as Mt. St. Joseph Academy, and finally was taken over by the city as a part of its water system, when the buildings were removed.

As the cattle market developed at Porter's, there began to be a noticeable movement in the real estate line. In 1845 Capt. Gilman Sargent acquired the Philemon Russell estate and cut it up into building lots and laid out Russell Street and Orchard Street from Beech Street to the old Daniel Watson farm northwest of Russell Street. This last-named property came into possession of George Meacham, Henry Potter, and Chester W. Kingsley in 1855, and was later cut up into streets and lots.

On the southwesterly side of the avenue and adjoining the Porter's Tavern property, Henry Potter had a large tract, in all about thirty-five acres, which extended up the avenue as far as the Davenport estate at the corner of Rindge Avenue and westerly beyond the railroad track. This property embraced

considerable of the Watson estate, a farm which had come into the possession of Dr. William Gamage. Dr. Gamage was a practicing physician at the village, as Harvard Square was then called, who had been quite active in many lines outside his profession and acquired a large amount of real estate. After his death, this property passed into the possession of Thomas Brewer, who sold it to Potter. Cogswell Avenue, Mead Street, and the easterly end of Walden Street are now laid out over part of it. The land on the corner of Cogswell Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue, where the first edifice of the North Cambridge Baptist Church stood, was given to the society by Henry Potter.

The large triangular-shaped area bounded by Massachusetts Avenue and Rindge Avenue and by a line about two hundred feet northwesterly from the present Rice Street was in 1850 owned by Joseph H. and George G. Rice, who, in June of that year, cut it up into building lots and laid out Pond, now Hollis Street, and Rice Street. This was originally a Goddard estate and successively passed through the hands of Thomas Russell, Richard Sullivan, and Ammi Cutter Teele until it came into the Rices.'

Other tracts in the neighborhood gradually came into the market and were opened up from time to time, but most of them considerably after the time when Cambridge became a city.

In those early days we had a school here — it was on Russell Street, on what was called the Winthrop school lot. An interesting account of it may be found in our first city directories, which, by the way, were printed by the *Chronicle*. The first religious body to establish itself in North Cambridge was a Baptist society known as the "Sabbath school," organized in 1846, and which for a time met in the Winthrop schoolhouse on Russell Street. This body later became the North Cambridge Baptist Church and erected, in 1854, the first meeting house in North Cambridge.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1927

President	Ephraim Emerton
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi William Coolidge Lane Robert Walcott
Secretary	Samuel Francis Batchelder Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	George Grier Wright
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs

Council

Samuel Francis Batchelder	Prescott Evarts
Joseph Henry Beale	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Stoughton Bell	William Coolidge Lane
Walter Benjamin Briggs	John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Frank Gaylord Cook	James Leonard Paine
Ephraim Emerton	Robert Walcott

George Grier Wright

1928

President	Robert Walcott
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi William Coolidge Lane Stoughton Bell
Secretary	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	George Grier Wright
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs

Council

Joseph Henry Beale	William Coolidge Lane
Stoughton Bell	John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Walter Benjamin Briggs	James Leonard Paine
Frank Gaylord Cook	Carolyn Huntington Saunders
Prescott Evarts	Robert Walcott
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi	George Grier Wright

1929

President	Robert Walcott
Vice-Presidents	Mary Isabella Gozzaldi William Coolidge Lane Stoughton Bell
Secretary	Walter Benjamin Briggs
Treasurer	Willard Hatch Sprague
Curator	Walter Benjamin Briggs

Council

Joseph Henry Beale
Stoughton Bell
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Frank Gaylord Cook
Prescott Evarts
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
William Coolidge Lane
John Taylor Gilman Nichols
James Leonard Paine
Carolyn Huntington Saunders
Willard Hatch Sprague
Robert Walcott

REGULAR MEMBERS

1927–1929

Marion Stanley Abbot
Anne Elizabeth Allen
Mary Ware Allen
Charles Almy
Albert Francis Amee
Sarah Russell Ames
Albert Stokes Apsey
Agnes Gordon Balch
Mary Emory Batchelder (L)
Samuel Francis Batchelder
Elizabeth Chadwick Beale
Joseph Henry Beale
Mabel Arrabella Lewis Bell
Stoughton Bell
Edward McElroy Benson
Alexander Harvey Bill
Caroline Eliza Bill
Marion Edgerly Bill
Clarence Howard Blackall
Emma Murray Blackall
Warren Kendall Blodgett
Ella Josephine Boggs
Annabel Perry Bonney
Maria Bowen
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Ada Leila Cone Brock
Arthur Hendricks Brooks
Elizabeth Harrington Brooks
Jessie Waterman Brooks
Sumner Albert Brooks
Charles Jesse Bullock
Josephine Freeman Bumstead
Bertha Close Bunton
George Herbert Bunton
Annie Jump Cannon
Philip Greenleaf Carleton
Sarah Swift Schaff Carleton
Flora Kirkendall Carver
Thomas Nixon Carver
Newton Russell Cazmay
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Annie Bourne Chapman
Philip Putnam Chase
Bertha Hamilton Clark
Leslie Linwood Cleveland
Edith Mary Coe
Margaret E. Cogswell
Ada Louise Comstock
Frank Gaylord Cook
Louis Craig Cornish
Samuel McChord Crothers
Sally Adams Cushman
Henry Orville Cutter
Elizabeth Ellery Dana
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana
Richard Henry Dana
Mary Helen Deane
Lily Eugenie DeKalb
Ernest Joseph Dennen
Mary Deane Dexter
Edward Sherman Dodge (L)
Harry Francis Roby Dolan
Adeline Anna Douglass
Laura Howland Dudley
William Harrison Dunbar
Herbert Hunter Dyer
Frances Hopkinson Eliot
Samuel Atkins Eliot
Emmons Raymond Ellis

Frances White Emerson
William Emerson
Ephraim Emerton
Sybil Clark Emerton
Prescott Evarts
Claire Schayer Fande
Lillian Horsford Farlow
Charles Norman Fay
Lillian Hale Fay
Eunice Whitney Farley Felton
William Wallace Fenn
Edward Waldo Forbes
Worthington Chauncey Ford
Frances Fowler
Esther Stevens Fraser
Dana Taylor Gallup
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Virginia Tanner Green
Lillian Helen Hadley
Thomas Hadley
*Edwin Blaisdell Hale
Edwin Herbert Hall
Elizabeth Harris
Albert Bushnell Hart
Frank Watson Hastings
Doris Hayes-Cavanaugh
Frank Wilson Cheney Hersey
Stanley Barbour Hildreth
Alison Bixby Hill
Leslie White Hopkinson
Cornelia Conway Felton Horsford
Katherine Horsford
Alberta Manning Houghton
*Arria Sargent Dixwell Howe
Lois Lilley Howe
Bertha Morton Howland
Eda Woolson Hurlbut
Eldon Revare James
Phila Smith James
James Richard Jewett
Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett
Ethel Robinson Jones
Mabel Augusta Jones
Wallace St. Clair Jones
George Frederick Kendall
Margaret Crowninshield Kent
Norton Adams Kent
Justine Houghton Kershaw
Anna Read Lamber
William Coolidge Lane
Maud Adela Lawson
Thomas Wolcott Little
Flora Virginia Livingston
Alice Mary Longfellow
Abbott Lawrence Lowell
David Gordon Lyon
Mabel Everett Harris Lyon
Elizabeth MacFarlane
Ethel May MacLeod
William Mackintosh MacNair
Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.
Margaret Boyden Magoun
Emma Endicott Marean
Georgie Maria Marsters
David Thompson Watson McCord
Charles John McIntire
Herbert Bruce McIntire
Louis Joseph Alexandre Mercier
John Douglas Merrill
Dorothea Foote Merriman
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Nelson Case Metcalf
Josiah Byram Millett
Emma Maria Cutter Mitchell
Hugh Montgomery
Alice Manton Morgan

* Deceased.

Samuel Eliot Morison
Valma Maria Morse
Emma Frances Munroe
Arthur Boylston Nichols
Emily Alan Smith Nichols
Gertrude Fuller Nichols
Henry Atherton Nichols
John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Albert Perley Norris
Margaret Norton
Carleton Eldredge Noyes
Charlotte Metcalfe Noyes
James Atkins Noyes
Penelope Barker Noyes
Thomas Francis O'Malley
Edward Holyoke Osgood
Margaret Nickerson Osgood
James Leonard Paine
Mary Woolson Paine
Madeleine Louise Palmer
John Simpson Penman
Clarence Henry Poor, Jr.
Arthur Kingsley Porter
John Lyman Porter
Lucy Wallace Porter
Alfred Claghorn Potter
David Thomas Pottinger
Roscoe Pound
Harry Seaton Rand
Mabel Rena Mawhinney Rand
Willard Reed
Frederick Albert Richardson
Harriette Taber Richardson
Fred Norris Robinson
Margaret Brooks Robinson
James Hardy Ropes
Gertrude Swan Runkle
John Cornelius Runkle
Paul Joseph Sachs
Mary Ware Sampson
Eleanor Whitney Davis Sanger (L)
Carolyn Huntington Saunders
Francis Webber Sever
Martha Sever
Willard Hatch Sprague
Genevieve Stearns
Grace Williamson Stedman
John Hubbard Sturgis
Helen Grace Olmstead Swan
William Donnison Swan
John Houghton Taylor
Joseph Gilbert Thorp
Alfred Marston Tozzer
Eleanor Gray Tudor (L)
Bertha Hallowell Vaughan
Charles Peter Vosburgh
Maude Batchelder Vosburgh
Mary Richardson Walcott
Robert Walcott
Grace Reed Walden
Henry Bradford Washburn
Frederica Davis Watson
Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster
Sarah Cordelia Fisher Wellington
Alice Merrill White
Fanny Gott White
Horatio Stevens White
William Richardson Whittemore
Olive Swan Williams
Samuel Williston
George Grafton Wilson
John William Wood, Jr.
Charles Henry Conrad Wright
George Grier Wright

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Gardner Weld Allen
Hollis Russell Bailey
Mary Persis Bailey
Joseph Gardner Bartlett
Marion Brown Fessenden
Francis Apthorp Foster
Anna Lyman Gray
Eliza Mason Hoppin
Rysse Gilman Houghton (L)
Ernest Lovering
Phillippe Belknap Marcou
Bradford Hendrick Peirce
Lillian Clark Richardson
Phillip Leffingwell Spalding
Alice Mathews Van Brunt
Mary Lee Ware

HONORARY MEMBER

James Ford Rhodes

With the exception of Volume VII, which is out of print, there is on hand (April, 1934) a small stock of earlier Publications of the Cambridge Historical Society. The price is $1.00 each, for members of the Society; $1.50 each, for non-members. Orders and remittances should be addressed to Walter B. Briggs, Curator, Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mr. Briggs is also able to supply copies of Mrs. Gozzaldi's Index to Paige's *History of Cambridge*, published in 1930. The price is $7.50 a copy, postpaid.

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The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

XXI

PROCEEDINGS

For the Years 1930 and 1931

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Published by the Society
1936

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

The Cambridge Historical Society

EIGHTY-NINTH MEETING

Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on Tuesday, January 24, 1930, at 8 P.M., at the home of Arthur H. Brooks, Esq., 5 Ash Street. President Walcott presided.

The records of the meeting of October 22, 1929 were read and accepted.

The Secretary read the annual report of the Secretary and Council.

Voted it be accepted. Mr. Beale read the annual report for the Treasurer, Mr. Sprague; with the certificate of the Auditor, Mr. Beale.

Voted to accept the same.

The Nominating Committee reported the following nominations:

OFFICERS FOR 1930

President	ROBERT WALCOTT
Vice-Presidents	MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE STOUGHTON BELL
Secretary	WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS
Treasurer	WILLARD HATCH SPRAGUE
Editor	DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER
Curator	WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS
Council: the above and	
JOSEPH HENRY BEALE	JAMES LEONARD PAINE
FRANK GAYLORD COOK	CAROLYN HUNTINGTON SAUNDERS
JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS	

Voted that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the nominations as reported. The Secretary cast the ballot, and the Chair declared the officers as named duly elected.

President Walcott then presented Edwin J. Hipkiss, Esq., Curator of Decorative Arts of Europe and America at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, who spoke on "Colonial Furniture" and showed many lantern slides to illustrate his points.[1]

After the paper the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

[1] Since Mr. Hipkiss spoke from memoranda relating to the lantern slides, his remarks cannot now be reproduced in this volume.—Editor.

NINETIETH MEETING

THE REGULAR SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at 8 P.M., on Tuesday, April 29, 1930, at the residence of Hon. and Mrs. Robert Walcott, 152 Brattle Street. President Walcott presided.

The minutes of the annual meeting were read and allowed.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, ALBERT HARRISON HALL, Esq., Keeper of the Massachusetts Archives, who read a paper entitled "How Massachusetts Grew, 1630–1642," illustrated by lantern slides.[1]

At the conclusion of the paper, the meeting adjourned for refreshments.

[1] See pp. 19–49, *post*.

NINETY-FIRST MEETING

THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY and their friends were entertained at a garden party by HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, Esq., at the Craigie House, 105 Brattle Street, at 4 P.M., on Friday, May 23, 1930. In this most appropriate setting Mr. Dana read "The Chronicle of the Craigie House"[1] to an especially large and appreciative audience.

[1] This paper was a condensation of a book that Mr. Dana is preparing on the history of the house; it is therefore not available for publication at the present time.—EDITOR.

NINETY-SECOND MEETING

THE REGULAR AUTUMN MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Wednesday, November 12, 1930, at 8 P.M., at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Bertram K. Little, 64 Brattle Street. About sixty-eight members were present.

Vice-President Stoughton Bell called the meeting to order and read a message from President Walcott, a transcription of which here follows for permanent record:

To the Officers and Members of the Cambridge Historical Society:

It is with the greatest regret that I sent my best wishes to you by letter rather than in person, and it is a very special sorrow to miss our first hospitality in the house of our new Secretary and to lose the chance of hearing the paper of the evening from our valued member Mrs. Fraser, who has always been so ready to help in our activities.

Our first duty and pleasure is to congratulate our Society and our Vice-President Mrs. Gozzaldi on the publication of the Index to Paige's *History of Cambridge*, which makes that standard source-book a serviceable volume and brings the genealogical material down to date. The dogged persistence with which Mrs. Gozzaldi stuck to the chore of compilation and proof reading for this fine piece of work, notwithstanding failing eyesight, has shown her quality — not that anyone ever doubted it.

Goodspeed has this book on sale for seven dollars and fifty cents, he paying the Society five dollars a volume; and it has been noted in his historical and genealogical catalogues. Our issue is stored with the Boston Bookbinding Company on Arrow Street, Cambridge, and any member is entitled by applying to this concern through our Editor, Mr. David T. Pottinger at the Harvard University Press, to one copy free. The Council would be glad if before making your application you would examine the book at the house of Mrs. Gozzaldi or one of the libraries and make sure that you do really want it; because if members take their free copies and then conclude that limitations for books (in these days when apartment houses provide "dinettes" and "kitchenettes" but no "libraryettes") forbid its

retention, a sale to the second-hand bookstores will make it difficult to retain our sale price and cover the expenses of publication.

A second cause of congratulation is the excellent arrangement of open houses of historic interest arranged by a committee of this Society under the chairmanship of Professor Bremer W. Pond of Harvard, appointed by Professor Beale as Chairman of the Cambridge Tercentenary Committee. This committee was successful in persuading our fellow members to open the Longfellow, Lowell, Gray, Emerson, and Hicks houses two afternoons a week through July and August, to which Radcliffe College added Fay House and Harvard gave the use of the old Fogg Museum as an office for ticket selling and information. Principally through the taste and industry of Mrs. Vosburgh, responsible Cambridge groups of ladies, suitably gowned, acted as hostesses on each occasion. Beginning with small attendance just after college Commencement, it had become large on the close before Labor Day. There was no injury to the owners' property. A vote of thanks of this Society I should think much in order to the hostesses: Mrs. J. G. Thorp, Mrs. William Emerson, Mrs. Kingsley Porter, Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, and Mrs. Cecil E. Fraser; and to the committee: Professor Pond, Miss Lois L. Howe, Mrs. C. P. Vosburgh, Miss Mary Almy, and Mr. Charles Cogswell.

During the summer the State Commission on Historical Markers set up permanent steel markers commemorating sites of historical interest throughout the State, primarily from the standpoint of the motorist. These were clearly lettered and securely bedded in cement, and were on the whole, I think, admirably chosen. Five were erected in Cambridge:

1. On Massachusetts Avenue, corner Linnaean Street, indicating the Cooper-Austin House.
2. On the Common at end of Kirkland Street, indicating old road from Charlestown to Watertown.
3. At corner of Dunster Street and Harvard Square, indicating location of first meeting house and house of Governor Dudley on Dunster Street below Mt. Auburn Street.
4. At corner of Mt. Auburn Street and Gerry's Landing Parkway, indicating home of Rev. George Phillips, first pastor of Watertown.
5. At Gerry's Landing, marking landing of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the Watertown Company in 1630.

We were consulted in the choice of these markers and made further suggestions.

These last two sites were not within the original bounds of Cambridge.

The Watertown Historical Society during the past year has sponsored the publication by Mr. Robinson and Mrs. Wheeler of a readable general history to date, entitled *Great Little Watertown*. A similar publication is much needed for Cambridge, bearing the same relation to Paige's *History of Cambridge* that the above bears to Bond's standard history of Watertown. It was what we hoped our former Editor and Secretary would do, for from his pen it would have been at the same time accurate and entertaining.

On the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year I nominate Judge Almy, Mr. A. H. Brooks, Professor C. J. Bullock, Mr. A. H. Bill, and Professor Thomas N. Carver.

It was then *voted* to express the Society's regret at President Walcott's illness, which caused his absence, and to endorse heartily his suggested vote of the Society's thanks to the hostesses and the Cambridge Tercentenary Committee.

The Curator made a brief report of accessions to the Society's collections. Mr. Bell then introduced as speaker of the evening Mrs. Cecil E. Fraser, who spoke on "Painted Decoration in Colonial Homes," telling of the many ways paint was used on furniture of various kinds and architecturally on the interior and exterior of houses. Her remarks were illustrated with lantern slides of examples found throughout New England and in New York and Pennsylvania.[1]

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

[1] See pp. 50–57, *post*.

NINETY-THIRD MEETING

Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting

THE Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held at the residence of Mrs. S. M. de Gozzaldi, 96 Brattle Street, at 8 P.M., on January 27, 1931, with an attendance of about seventy. Vice-President Stoughton Bell presided.

The minutes of the last meeting and the annual report of the Secretary and Council were read and accepted.

The annual reports of the Treasurer and the Curator were read and accepted.

The report of the committee to nominate officers was received, and it was *voted:* that the Secretary cast one ballot for the same by unanimous consent. The Secretary announced the ballot cast, and the Vice-President thereupon announced the following elected as officers of the Society for the year 1931–32:

President	Robert Walcott
Vice-Presidents	Mrs. S. M. de Gozzaldi Stoughton Bell William C. Lane
Secretary	Bertram K. Little
Treasurer	Willard H. Sprague
Editor	David T. Pottinger
Curator	Walter B. Briggs

Council: the above and

Joseph H. Beale	John T. G. Nichols
Carolyn H. Saunders	James L. Paine
Frank Gaylord Cook	

Upon the recommendation of the Council it was *voted:* to elect Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, formerly of Cambridge, and

now residing at Bradlegh End, Ottery St. Mary, Devon, England, as an honorary member of the Society in recognition of her writings on the early history of Massachusetts.

In the report on the Ancestors' Blanks it was stated that none had been returned during the past year, and it was again urged that any members of the Society having ancestors who came to Cambridge before 1730 obtain one of these blanks from Mrs. Gozzaldi and fill it out.

The very interesting paper, "A History of Berkeley Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts," by ALICE C. ALLYN, was then read for the author by the Secretary.[1]

After the reading, several members contributed informal reminiscences about Berkeley Street and its inhabitants. Among them, Mr. White spoke of the dates when a number of Cambridge streets were laid out, suggesting that some member might prepare a paper on these, referring to the complete file of the Cambridge Directories in the Archives of the Society for details; and Miss Bumstead, who characterized Berkeley as "the street where we pass around our puddings," spoke of how Margaret Thayer, as a child, could always tell, without looking, whether the person walking by her house was "a Berkeley" or not.

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

[1] See pp. 58-71, *post*.

NINETY-FOURTH MEETING

THE SPRING MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peter Vosburgh, at 94 Brattle Street, at 8 P.M., on April 28, 1931, with an attendance of about eighty persons. President Walcott presided.

The minutes of the annual meeting were read, and, after correction, accepted.

Mr. Briggs read a tribute to the notable life and work of the late Mr. William Coolidge Lane, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society and a valued member of its Council since its inception;[1] and Mr. Beale spoke movingly of the character of the late Rev. Prescott Evarts, his interest in the Society, and his contributions to the life of the community.[2]

President Walcott then introduced Mrs. Gozzaldi, who read an interesting account of the Vassall House during the seventeenth century, with some description of the original core of the structure and the grounds.

Miss Dana then took up the fascinating story of the house and its occupants from the end of the seventeenth through the early part of the nineteenth century.

After Mr. Walcott had told a striking incident in connection with the Belcher family, and Mrs. Gozzaldi had given further details of the house in the early eighteenth century, Mr. Pottinger followed with an entertaining and illuminating paper on the house from 1737 to 1781.

Mrs. Gozzaldi rounded out the history by giving an account of the house in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when she lived in it with her grandfather, Samuel Batchelder, sup-

[1] See pp. 72–75, *post*.
[2] See pp. 76–77, *post*.

plemented by vivid word pictures of the various rooms, the garden, and the orchard.[1]

An appreciated feature of the evening was the exhibition, through the kindness of the Rector of Christ Church, of the original record books of the Church, containing the earliest accounts of the founding of the Church and baptismal records of various occupants of the Vassall house.

The meeting adjourned at 10.10 P.M., after which refreshments were served and the members had an opportunity to inspect the fine rooms throughout the house.

[1] See pp. 78-118, *post.*

NINETY-FIFTH MEETING

A GARDEN PARTY was held at the residence of Mr. Kenneth G. T. Webster, at 4.30 P.M., on June 3, 1931, with an attendance of eighty-two persons. President Walcott presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted.

President Walcott then introduced OLIVER ELTON, King Alfred Professor, Emeritus, of English Literature at the University of Liverpool, now lecturing at Harvard University, who spoke most entertainingly about Lieutenant-Governor Thomas, one-time owner of Elmwood.[1]

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments served in the pretty garden.

[1] See pp. 119-121, *post*.

NINETY-SIXTH MEETING

THE FALL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on the invitation of Mrs. C. C. Felton at Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University, at 8 P.M., on October 27, 1931, with President Walcott presiding, and some sixty-four members present.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted.

President Walcott spoke of the new volumes of the Proceedings recently issued, and asked those members who did not wish duplicate copies sent to the same family to notify the Secretary or the Curator. He then appointed the following committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year: Professor Horatio S. White, *Chairman;* Mrs. Louis L. Green, and Mr. Kenneth S. Usher.

At her request, President Walcott read Mrs. Felton's charmingly intimate paper on her father-in-law, "Cornelius Conway Felton, Professor of Greek 1832–1860; President of Harvard University 1860–1862," and Mrs. Felton herself concluded it by reading a note from President Quincy to Mr. Felton, dated Quincy, Mass., 1860.[1]

Professor Ephraim Emerton then spoke of interesting details in Mr. Felton's career. He brought out Mr. Felton's early advocacy of education for all, and his idea of education as "diffusive intellectual culture," by reading from some of Mr. Felton's addresses, which also exhibited his straightforward, simple style, albeit sometimes tinged with the flowery expressions of his period. Professor Emerton, showing a picture of five men who had been Harvard Presidents seated about the same table, told of there being four ex-Presidents of Harvard on the stage at Mr. Felton's inauguration as President of Harvard University in 1860, and of Mr. Felton's desire to

[1] See pp. 122-124, *post.*

carry on the continuity of sound learning along lines already tried. He read from Mr. Felton's highly interesting inaugural address, which treated, among other subjects, of the necessity of training the mind and of certain parietal regulations, and of the great freedom possessed by Harvard students.[1] Mr. H. R. Bailey added an anecdote of Andover days, where Mr. Felton was educated, at the end.

[1] At the Editor's request Professor Emerton consented, at a later date, to write a paper for this volume of the Proceedings that would either embody his remarks at this meeting or be a satisfactory substitute; but on investigation he found that the subject had already been covered at a meeting of the Society held on October 9, 1907 and reported in Proceedings, Vol. 2, pp. 117-130.

HOW MASSACHUSETTS GREW, 1630–1642

A STUDY OF TOWN BOUNDARIES

By Albert Harrison Hall

Read April 29, 1930

It should be understood that no contemporary maps of these early town boundaries exist. The principal materials for this study have been the Records of the General Courts and the locations on government maps of 1794 and 1830 (in Massachusetts Archives) of such portions of these town bounds as have survived the changes of the centuries.

It is a common mistake to think that Massachusetts was formed by a union of preëxisting towns. Our nation was formed in that way by the union of the thirteen original colonies; but Massachusetts existed before ever a town was laid out or even settled in it. The government of the colony was invested with every least detail of control, and local government by towns was a later development. Here follows the story of how Massachusetts grew and laid out its towns during its first dozen years, from 1630 to 1642.

To begin at the beginning, the English Crown claimed, by right of Cabot's discovery, all the land of the new continent lying between the French possessions on the north (Canada) and the Spanish possessions on the south (Florida). Two trading companies were formed to exploit the new lands: one of merchants of London, the other of merchants of Plymouth, England. To the London Company was given the southern part of this great domain, and to the Plymouth Company was given the northern part. The fortieth parallel of latitude was the boundary between them and is almost exactly the southern boundary of Pennsylvania and the northern boundary of Maryland; in short, the Mason and Dixon line. The Plymouth Company went out of existence and was succeeded by the Council of New England.

In March 1628 the Council for New England granted to a

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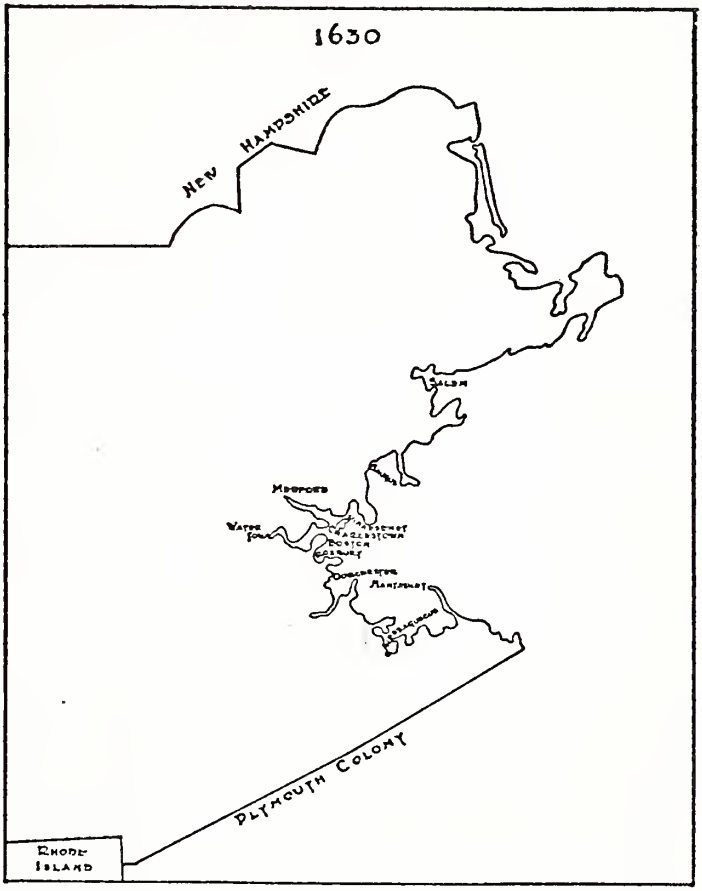
company of six gentlemen in England the land extending from a line three miles north of Merrimac River to one three miles south of Charles River, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. These river shad been observed as coming into the ocean from the west, and no one was aware that the Merrimac came down from the north and the Charles came up from the south. The Pacific coast was supposed to be much nearer the Atlantic than it is; and the rivers were supposed to come from a continental divide due west, on the other side of which other rivers would be found flowing westward into the Pacific. The six gentlemen soon afterward conveyed to others an interest in their purchase, and the number of joint proprietors soon became much enlarged. They assumed the title of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and chose Matthew Cradock as Governor. Thus, the first Governor of Massachusetts was elected in England. He never came over here.

In June 1628, three months after obtaining the grant of land, a company of emigrants was sent over to settle at Salem. Captain John Endicott, one of the six original purchasers, was appointed local Governor of this little colony, but took orders and instructions from Governor Cradock in England.

It was necessary now to obtain from the Crown a charter for the government of the Company or Corporation, and this charter passed the great seals and was granted on March 4, 1629. It is said that this was the only charter of its kind which did not provide that the government of the Corporation must reside in England. Only four months after the granting of the charter, Governor Cradock proposed, in July 1629, that the Company transfer the government from England to the colony. In August it was so voted. At a "Court" or business meeting of the Company, in October 1629, Mr. John Winthrop was chosen Governor, and a body of assistants was chosen with the understanding that they would accompany him to Massachusetts. It was at a meeting in Cambridge, England, that they agreed to sell their houses and lands and remove.

In the following year, 1630, seventeen shiploads of people

came over, almost all before the month of June. The first ship reached Salem after a three months' passage. The second ship, after two months, reached Nantasket. Ten of the passengers of this second ship went up the Charles River in a



boat and planted crops near where the Watertown arsenal now stands. They then returned to their ship, which had sailed across the bay to Mattapan, and the passengers settled there and called the place Dorchester. This was on and about Savin Hill.

More ships arrived at Salem, and the town became over-

crowded. Governor Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others went about the Bay seeking another location, and selected the peninsula of Charlestown as suitable for settlement. Many of the people at Salem were removed thither, and that in turn became crowded. Worse still, the supply of drinking water was not satisfactory.

Many of them, with Sir Richard Saltonstall as leader, went up the Charles River and settled Watertown. The first homes were built in what is now the western part of Cambridge, near Mt. Auburn Cemetery. Other seekers after good water went over to Boston, where there were several great springs, and settled around one of them, located at what is now Spring Lane.

Still other settlements were made at Saugus (now Lynn), Winnesemet (now Chelsea), Medford, Roxbury, Wessaguscus (now Weymouth), and Nantasket (now Hull), which was taxed in 1630 and 1631, later abandoned, and settled again in 1641.

A settlement was begun at Agawam (now Ipswich) but was abandoned by order of the Court, perhaps as being too remote for adequate defence.

These settlements seem to have been organized as four church congregations, one in Salem, one in Watertown, one in Dorchester, and one in Charlestown. It is probable that the people of Medford, Winnesemet, Boston, and perhaps Roxbury attended the meetings in Charlestown.

Thus, at the end of 1630 there were no towns but a dozen seacoast settlements all under the government of the Governor and Assistants at Boston.[1]

[1] Because most of the settlements did not extend inland any considerable distance, their names are placed on the map for 1630 on the water area, just touching the land.

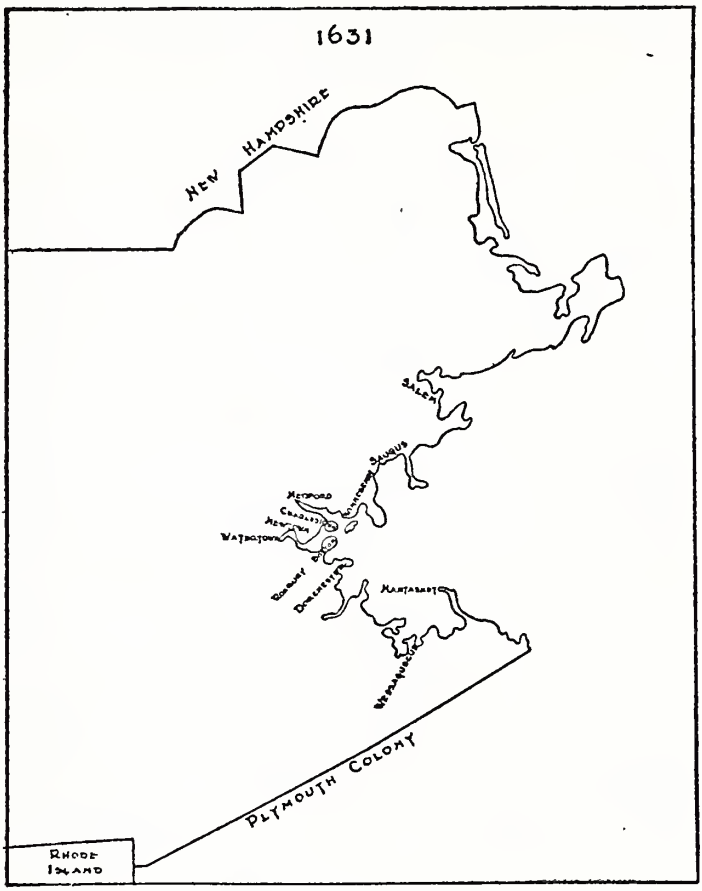
The diagonal line at the lower part of the map is the line between Massachusetts Bay colony and the older Plymouth colony. The line had not been established at this time, and later was made a county line after the two colonies had been merged in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1692. It exists today as the line dividing Norfolk County, on the north, from Plymouth and Bristol counties on the south.

The present state lines of New Hampshire and Rhode Island are shown on the map to indicate in a general way the boundary limits of the colony in those directions, although Massachusetts later ran her town lines some half dozen miles north of the Merrimac River instead of the three miles to which the charter entitled her.

1631

From now on, the settlements increased steadily in members and in size.

In December 1630, the Governor and Assistants, fearing



that the Crown might attempt to seize the charter, decided that Boston was too exposed to the possibility of naval attack to serve as the capital of the colony, and chose a location on the Charles River just below Watertown as the place to establish a new town which was to be fortified. This was first called

the New Town, and later named Cambridge. It was planned to remove the ordnance and ammunition there, the general and particular courts were to be held there, and the Governor and Assistants agreed to build houses and live there.

Houses were built there in 1631 by the Deputy-Governor and a few others, but no definite line between Watertown and New Town seems to have been established.[1]

1632

In 1632 a settlement at Marble Harbor (now Marblehead) was taxed as a part of Saugus (now Lynn).

It was "ordered that the neck of land betwixt Powder Horne Hill and Pullen Poynte shall belong to Boston." Pullen Point, the point around which it was necessary to pull boats with ropes against the strong tidal currents in the Gut, is now Point Shirley. By this order what is now the town of Winthrop became a part of Boston.

In this year the following towns were taxed for a palisade to fortify the New Towne: Salem, Saugus, Winnesemet, Medford, Charlestown, New Town, Watertown, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Wessaguscus. Nantasket disappears from the list of Bay towns.

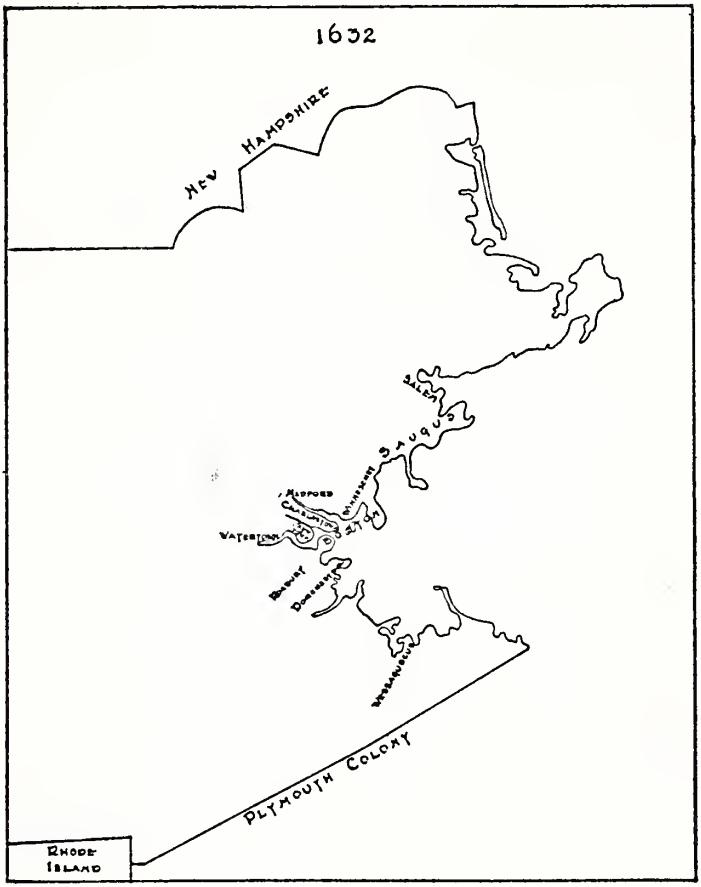
The palisade began on Charles River near the present Longfellow Park, and extended in a curve around the Common and so to a swamp near what is now Jarvis Field. The river protected one flank and the swamp the other.

In this year the colonial government appears to have made its first town bounds, when "it was agreed by the parties appointed by the Court . . . that all the land impaled by the new towne men, with the neck whereon Mr. Graves his house standeth, shall belong to Newe-town, and that the bounds of Charlestown shall end at a tree marked by the pale, and to

[1] Because the coast settlements had now begun to extend inland, their names on the map are placed, wherever possible, on the land area.

If the name of a place is spelled sometimes one way, sometimes another, in this story, so it was in the colonial records. There was no settled way of spelling in those days, and each man who wrote spelled a word according to the way he heard it.

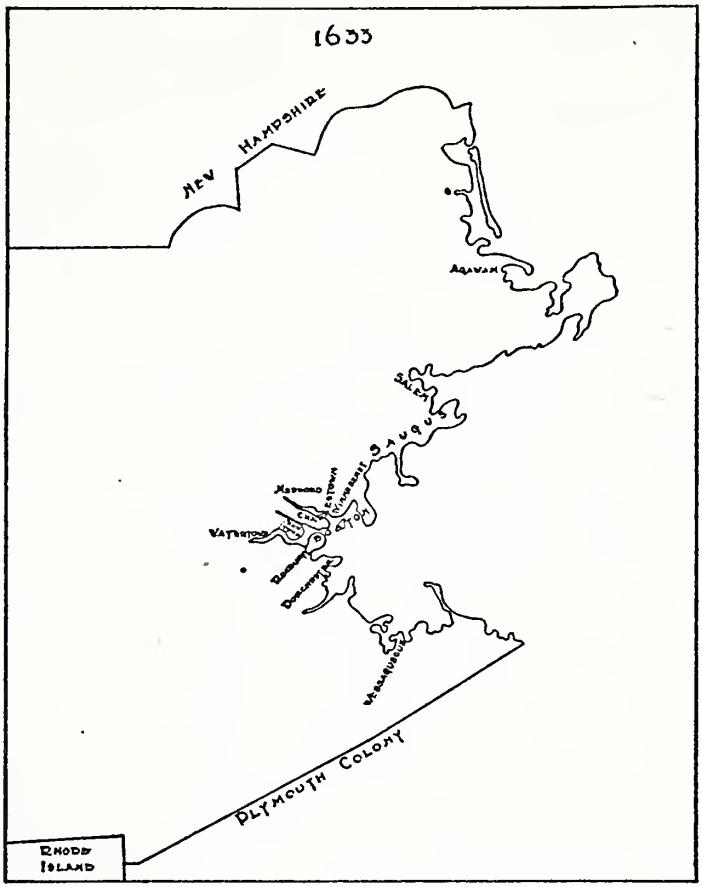
Passe along from thence by a straight line unto the midway betwixte the westernmost part of the Governor's great lot and the nearest part thereto of the bounds of Watertown."



The "neck" is the upland in East Cambridge. Paige, in his history of Cambridge, says that the line thus established was substantially the same as that which now divides Cambridge and Somerville. Somerville was then a part of Charlestown.

1633

Apparently at least one other town bound had become necessary at about the same time for, on March 4, 1633, it was



"agreed, that the bounds formerly sett out betwixt Boston and Rocksbury shall continue, only Rocksbury to enioy the conveniency of the creeke neere therevnto." The creek was dredged in later years and became known as Roxbury canal. The "bounds formerly sett out" were a line crossing Wash-

ington Street a little north of the old Roxbury burial ground on the corner of Eustis Street, between that and the present Massachusetts Avenue.

In the spring of this year, a permanent settlement was begun at Agawam (now Ipswich) and in October it bore its share of the tax raised by the colony.

In July, it was ordered that the land between Island End River and North River "and so up into the country" should belong to the inhabitants of Charlestown. This gave to Charlestown what are now Everett and Malden. The new region was known as Mystic-side. It is noteworthy that no line was laid out across the end "up into the country."

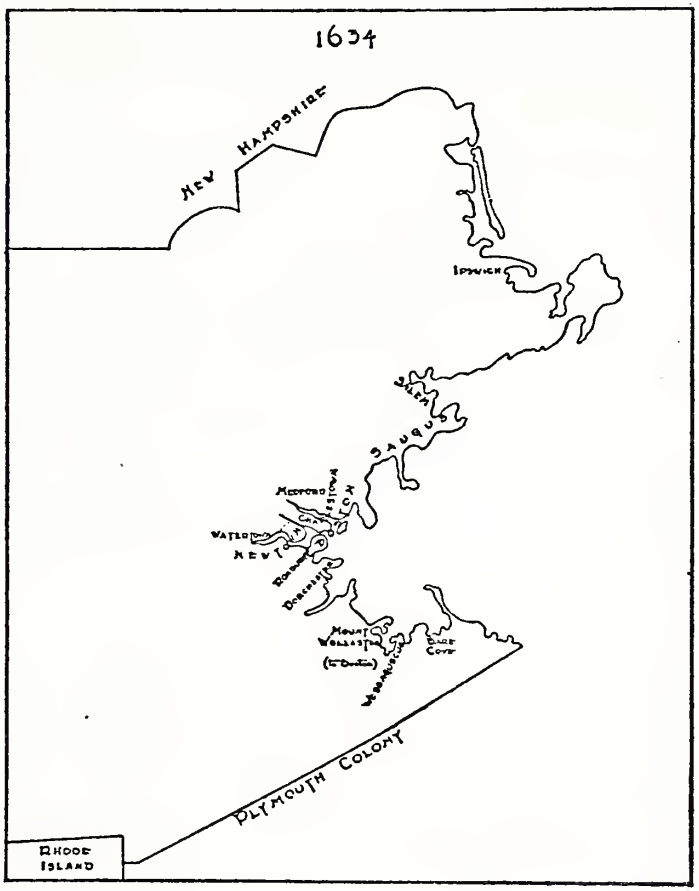
1634

The year 1634 saw a great change in the government of the colony which may have had an effect upon the laying out of town bounds during the next few years. According to the charter of the Company, there were to be "four Great and General Courts" held each year. The Company consisted of the Governor, the Assistants, and the Freemen; these latter being such persons as had been "admitted and made free of the Company and Society."

The freemen were much more numerous than the Assistants, but seem not to have been familiar with their power in the general courts under the charter. The Governor seems to have kept that document under lock and key during the first four years. But in April 1634, a body of freemen, two deputies from each town, demanded a view of the document. Finding from it what powers had been withheld from them, they appeared at the general court for elections in May, demanded the share in the government due to the body of freemen, refused Governor Winthrop a re-election, elected Thomas Dudley Governor, and the Court passed an order admitting the claims of the deputies to have "the full power and voices of all the said freemen." From that day to this the chosen representatives of the people of the towns have sat as a part

of the legislature save during the Andros administration when the legislature was suspended.

Now, at this May meeting, the people of Newtown com-



plained that they needed more land, especially meadow for their cattle. They asked leave to look out for further enlargement, and it was granted. Apparently Boston and Watertown offered land, but it seems as if the New Town men had a great desire for land in another direction. They threatened

to remove to Connecticut, but finally accepted the offers of Watertown and Boston. Paige says that this enlargement "embraced Brookline, Brighton and Newton. Brookline, then called Muddy River, was granted on condition that the Reverend Mr. Hooker and his congregation should not remove. They did remove (in 1636) and thus this grant was forfeited. But the grant of what was afterwards Brighton and Newton held good."

Perhaps in return for losing Muddy River and its unbounded land in Brighton, Boston was given Winnesemet (now Chelsea). In addition Boston was granted Rumney Marsh (now Revere) and Mount Wollaston (now Quincy, Braintree, Randolph, and Holbrook). Mount Wollaston was granted because the men of consequence among the settlers desired lands where they might "keep store of cattle." It was given up by Boston in 1640; but to this day Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop are associated with Boston as Suffolk County.

In this year the south shore of the Bay received another settlement, at Bare Cove (now Hingham), which was taxed.

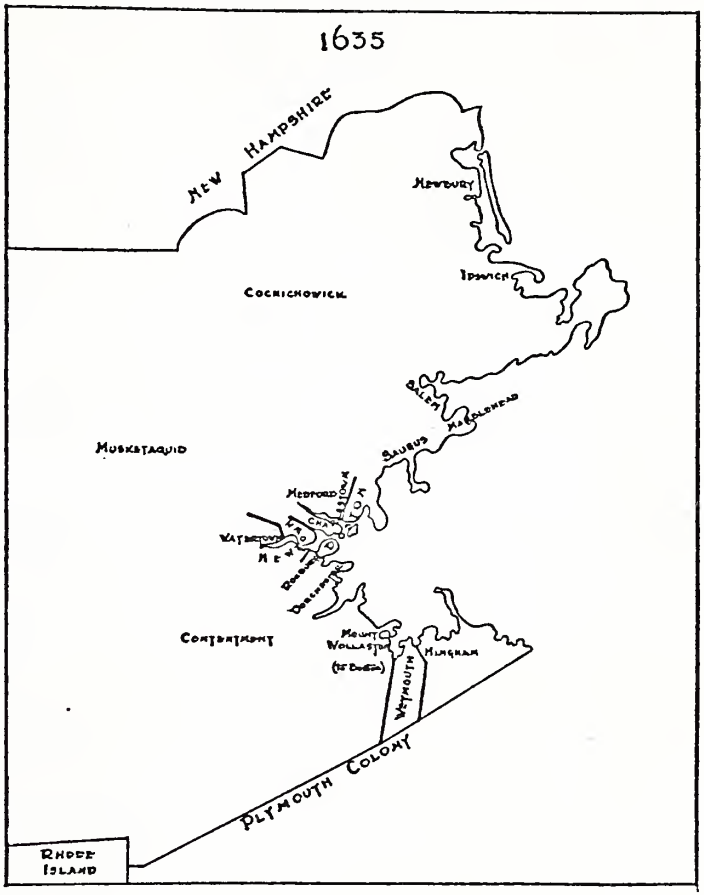
The name of the plantation at Agawam was changed to Ipswich.

1635

Now, in 1635, the deputies from the towns began in the General Courts to take an active part in parcelling out the common lands. Coming from the several towns, each had a clearer idea of what his townspeople wanted than did the Governor and his Assistants. The population had increased greatly in the five years since the first settlement at Salem. More land was needed. The dense woods which had separated the early coast settlements had yielded to the axe, and the farms of each town were expanding toward those of its neighbors on either side. Boundaries were needed.

The boundary between Charlestown and that part of Boston which is now Chelsea was established this year. It ran up Island End Creek and then overland in a straight line to a

tall pine upon a point of rock on the side of the highway to Mystic, on the other side of Rumney Marsh. Rumney Marsh is now the marshes of Revere. The highway to Mystic is Salem Street as it runs from Salem towards Malden (formerly



Mystic Side). Today the line is the bound between Chelsea and Revere (then part of Boston) on one side, and Everett and Malden (then part of Charlestown) on the other.

Watertown and New Town (Cambridge) were only a mile or so apart when the latter was established in 1631. A boundary

was soon necessary. Apparently Cambridge already had expanded beyond its palisade before 1635, for mention is made of bounds "as they are already from Charles River to the great Fresh Pond," and the line was extended across the pond to a white poplar tree, and "from that tree up into the country northwest by west, upon a straight line." Curiously, no mention is made of the length of the line. We shall see that in the following year it was made eight miles.

It may surprise the reader to learn that Cambridge, on another side, touched Roxbury. "The lyne betwixte Rocksbury and Newe Towne is layde out to run south west from Muddy River, neere that place which is called Mr. Nowell's bridge, . . . and from the mouth of the river to that place." This was about the same as the present easterly line of Brookline. This line also had no length established.

The name of Wessaguscus was changed to Weymouth, and that of Bare Cove to Hingham. The boundary between Wessaguscus and Bare Cove was set out and remains without change to this day. This line was set out "upon the same poynte that boundeth Boston and Waymothe"; that is, upon the same compass point, or direction, which would make the two lines parallel. No previous record appears of the establishment of this line on the easterly side of the Mount Wollaston region of Boston, but as it was in existence at this time it is shown on the map for this year.

Orders were passed for laying out bounds between Boston and Saugus, between Saugus and Salem, between Salem and Marble Harbor, between Marble Harbor and Saugus, between Ipswich and Newbury, and for Roxbury "both sides." This latter would establish the line between Roxbury and Dorchester.

A settlement which had been made at Wessacucon was allowed to be a plantation, and the name was changed to "Neweberry."

It was ordered that a plantation should be established at Marble Head.

Thus far, every settlement had been established on the seacoast or on tide water if on a river. Now the colony began to look forward to spreading inland. Orders were passed for a plantation "two myles above the falls of Charles Ryver," which was to be called Contentment but which, when settled, was named Dedham, and for one at Musketaquid which was to be called Concord.

The land about Cochichowick was reserved for another inland plantation. We shall see that this later became Andover and North Andover.

In May it was ordered that "The inhabitants of Roxbury hath liberty granted them to remove themselves to any place they shall think meete, . . . provided they continue still under this government."

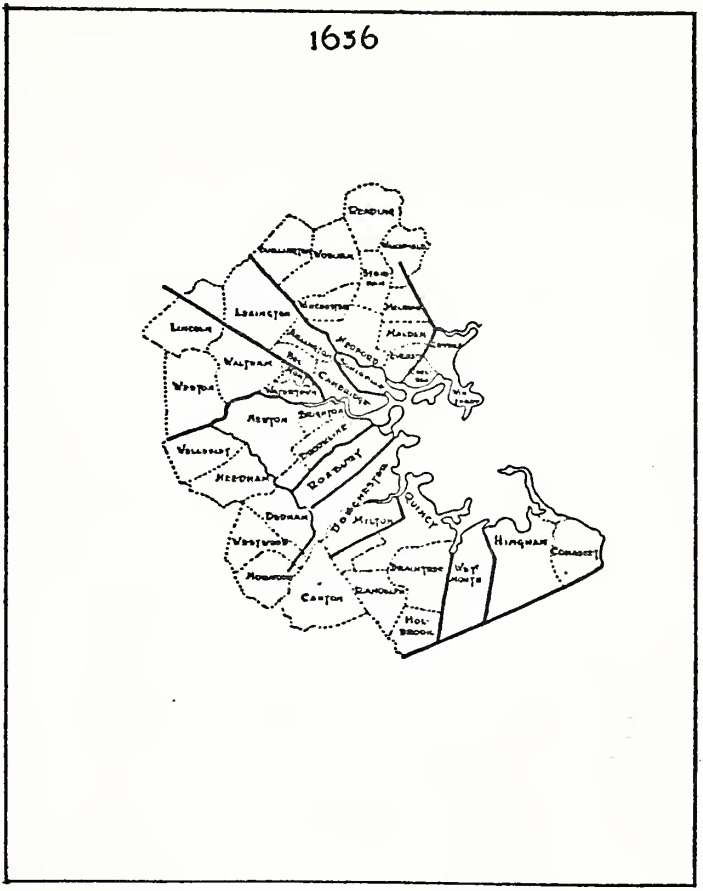
About a dozen families in Roxbury agreed to remove, with Mr. Pynchon, then the treasurer of the colony, as their leader. He went at once to Agawam on the Connecticut River, selected a location for the Roxbury people, made a bargain for it with the Indians, left men to build a house and plant corn, and returned to the Bay for his group of families. They removed the following spring, sailing out of Roxbury Canal into Boston Harbor, around Cape Cod, through Long Island Sound, and up the Connecticut River. Bounds for the two were not established until 1684.

1636

With the practice gained in 1635, the General Court engaged in a wholesale extension of town bounds in 1636. Town after town in the thickly settled area about Boston Harbor (now the metropolitan district) was extended up into the country "eight miles from its meeting house." As the meeting houses (or churches as we call them now) were sometimes several miles from the seaward border of the town, and as the eight miles might be estimated instead of measured, this sometimes gave a town a length of ten miles or more.

Corey, in his history of Malden, says of the grant to Charles-

town, "The limit of eight miles from the meeting house carried the Charlestown line nearly to Smith's Pond (now Crystal Lake, in Wakefield), where it met the indefinite line of the



Saugus (Lynn) plantation. By a liberal allowance of distance, it finally fixed itself at the northeast corner of the pond, at a point which may be readily ascertained by an extension of the northeasterly line of Melrose. Within this bound was included that part of the present town of Wakefield now known as

Greenwood." "The line . . . has never been changed, and still marks the eastern limits of Everett, Malden, and Melrose." By this extension, Charlestown gained also Stoneham, the northern part of Medford, Woburn, and perhaps Burlington and part of Wilmington.

Paige, in his history of Cambridge, says of the grant to New Town, "This grant secured to Cambridge (Newtown) on its northern border, the territory now embraced in Arlington and the principal part of Lexington; and as the measurements of that day were very elastic, perhaps the whole of Lexington was included."

The extension of Watertown included what are now Waltham and Weston. Lincoln is a later creation from parts of Lexington, Concord, and Weston, and was named after the English town of Lincoln. Belmont is a later creation from parts of Waltham, Watertown, and Arlington.

The extension of Roxbury was expressed in negative terms. "Rocksbury not to extend above eight myles in length from their meeteing howse." This was to prevent it from encroaching upon the land which was to be given to Dedham.

The bounds of Dorchester were "to run from the outside of Mr. Rossiter's fferme, nexte the sea, . . . in a straight lyne to the top of the Blue Hills." This added the northern end of Quincy and most of Milton to Dorchester.

The plantation on Charles River beyond Watertown was "to bee Dedham, to enjoy all that land on the southerly & easterly side of Charles Ryver not formerly graunted . . . & also to have five miles square on the other side of the ryver." Worthington's history of Dedham says that this five mile area included Dedham Island, Needham, Wellesley, Natick, and thirty-four hundred acres in the east part of Sherborn. Before the remote parts now Natick and Sherborn were settled, they were set off many years later as separate towns.

It is interesting to note that while Boston then comprised the peninsula of Shawmut, the towns of Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop on the north and the Mount Wollaston region on

the south, it now has lost the three towns and Mount Wollaston and has gained the peninsula of Charlestown on the north, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Hyde Park on the south, and Brighton on the west.

Medford occupied a peculiar place in the scheme of things. Entirely surrounded by Charlestown except at the western end where it abutted on what is now Arlington, it had no part in the eight mile extensions. Begun in 1630 as the settlement of a group of lumbermen and shipwrights in the employ of Governor Cradock, it had been extended in size by successive grants until in 1635 its bounds appear to have been the farms of Mr. Nowell and Mr. Wilson on the east, lower Mystic Pond on the west, the river on the south, and "the rocks" on the north.

In 1634 the General Court had granted on the west side of North River two hundred acres to Mr. Increase Nowell, of Charlestown, an important official of the colony, and two hundred acres to Mr. John Wilson, pastor of the church in Boston. Corey's history of Malden says that the Wilson farm is now the Wellington section of Medford, and the Nowell farm is now the Edgeworth section of Malden. The "rocks" are the southern escarpment of the Middlesex Fells reservation. In 1636 the northern line was extended slightly into the rocky region by an order that the land granted to "Mr. Math. Cradoke, mchant, shall extend a mile into the country from the ryver syde in all places." What is now the northern part of Medford was then the wood lots of the inhabitants of Charlestown. Corey says that the Cradock grant, or Medford farm, was sold in 1652, divided later among several families, and that it gradually passed from its original form of a manor or plantation into that of a town, which it finally accomplished in 1684.

In this year, 1636, it was ordered that bounds be set out between Salem and Ipswich and between Ipswich and Newbury, and to run six miles into the country, and that Marble

Neck should belong to Salem and so should not be taxed separately.[1]

1637

As if exhausted by its establishment of boundaries in 1636, the General Court made none in 1637. Its one act which would affect our maps is as follows: "Saugust is called Lin."

In this same year, the General Court granted permission to inhabitants of Newbury to remove and to have six miles square.

Also, permission was granted to inhabitants of Watertown to remove and settle upon the river which runs to Concord. This became later the town of Sudbury.

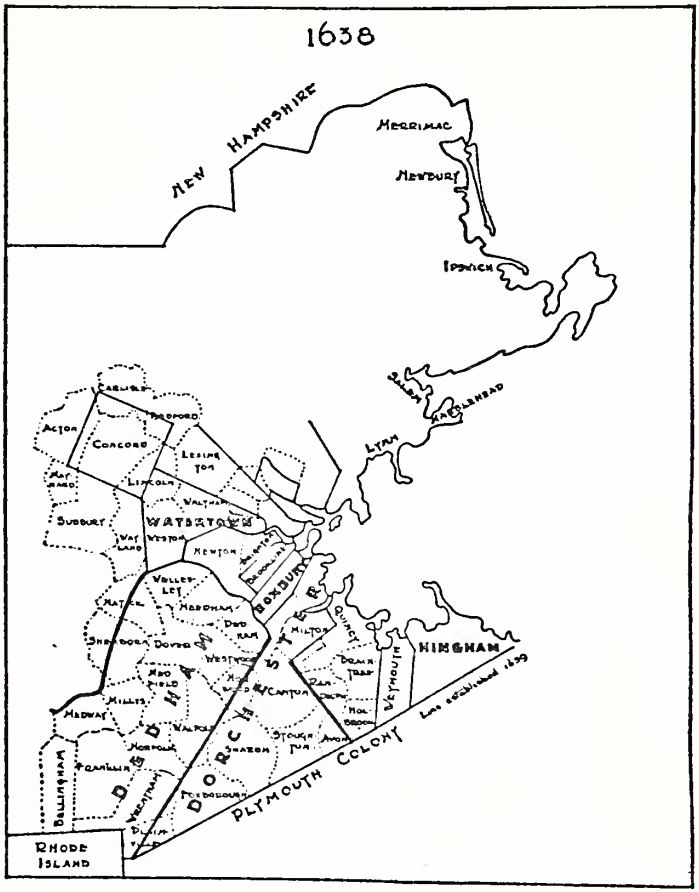
Apparently about this time the region now Brookline reverted to Boston. It had been granted to New Town (now Cambridge) on condition that the Reverend Mr. Hooker and his congregation should remain there. In 1636, they removed to establish Hartford in Connecticut, leaving less than a dozen of their families in New Town. Later, when the Brookline region became settled, it went by the name of Muddy River Hamlet or Boston Commons. Bacon, in his *Walks and Rides About Boston* says, "It was earliest occupied for grazing farms by settlers in Boston who kept their swine and other cattle here in summer."

1638

As if refreshed by its rest from establishing town bounds during 1637, the General Court in 1638 made up for lost time when it ordered that "the line of partition between the said townes of Dorchester and Dedham to extend to Plimoth bounds." Perhaps the Court did not know just where Plymouth Colony bounds were. Since at Hingham, Weymouth, and Mount Wollaston they were near the waters of Boston Bay, and since the line was supposed to run east and west parallel to the Charles River as it flows from Waltham to the sea, the Court may have thought that this would lengthen the towns only a few miles. Later, when the boundary between the two colonies was agreed upon, and was run from northeast to

[1] From the map of 1636 the contemporary boundaries of Medford were omitted by error.

southwest to touch the Rhode Island line, it was found that the line between these towns carried Dedham to the Rhode Island line and Dorchester within a few rods of it. Thus Dor-



chester added to its territory what are now Canton, Sharon, Foxborough, Stoughton, Avon, and most of Plainville.

Worthington, in his *History of Dedham*, says that that town included what are now Medfield, Wrentham, Needham, Bellingham, Walpole, Franklin, Dover, Natick, and part of Sher-

burne. As Wellesley, Westwood, Norwood, Millis, Medway, and Norfolk have been cut off from some of these towns since his history was written, they also must be included in the list.

Of course the distant portions of these towns were not settled at this time nor for a long while after. When they were occupied in later years, it was as new towns. Thus Wrentham was incorporated as a town in 1673, and included at that time what are now Franklin and parts of Plainville, Bellingham, and Norfolk. Stoughton was incorporated in 1726, and included Canton, Sharon, Foxborough, Avon, and part of Plainville.

It was found long before this year that the lack of surveys and maps caused much confusion in the granting of lands by the General Court. Thus, the grant of six miles square to Concord was found to overlap the end of Watertown's eight miles into the country from their meeting house. Bond, in his history of Watertown, says, "As the land was first surveyed and settled by Concord people, they were allowed to retain it, notwithstanding the prior title of Watertown." This was done by an order of the General Court in 1638 that "Watertown eight miles shall be extended . . . so far as Concord bounds give leave." Thus Concord included parts of what are now Lincoln, Bedford, and Carlisle.

It was in this year that certain individuals (who were listed in the Order) were allowed to begin a plantation at Merrimack. This was later named Colchester, and is now the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, and Merrimac. This was the first plantation north of Merrimac River.

Also it was ordered "that the new plantation to bee setled vpon Concord Ryver shall ioyne to Concord & have 4 miles vpon the Ryver." This later became Sudbury, and included the present Wayland.

Also it was ordered "that Newetowne shall henceforward be called Cambridge."

It is worthy of note that in all these years it had not been found necessary to lay out bounds between the Revere section of Boston and the Saugus section of Lynn, or between Lynn

and Salem. Apparently Pines River and its marshes were then as now a natural boundary between Revere and Saugus. It is true that a committee had been appointed in 1635 to lay out bounds between Saugus (now Lynn) and Salem, but it did not render its report until 1639. To this day the two cities are separated by three miles of rocky upland. Across it today run only two roads, crossing each other like an X. One connects Lynn and Salem, and the other connects Swampscott and Peabody.[1]

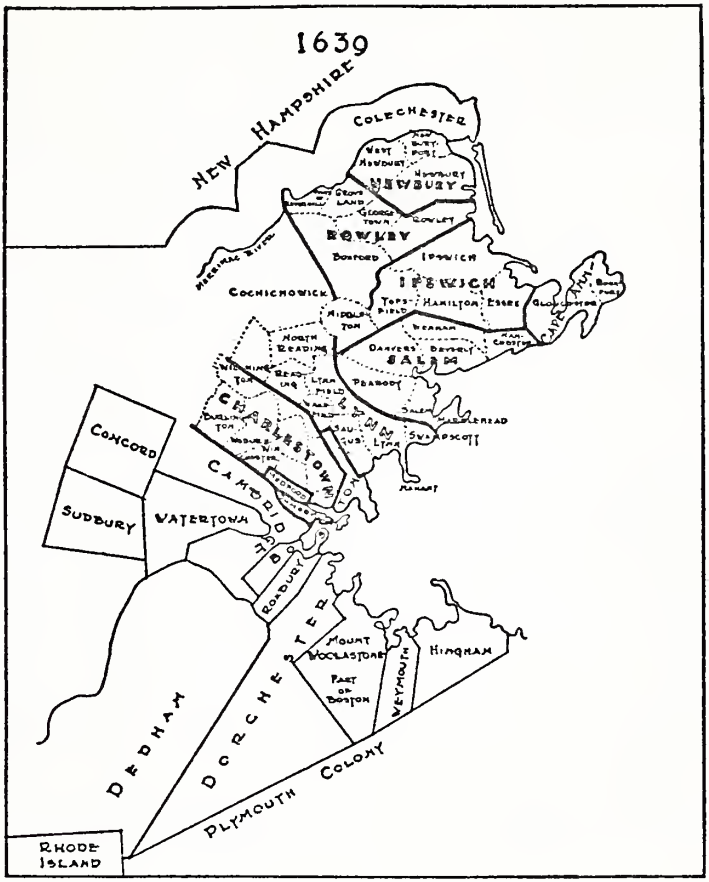
1639

The boundary established in 1639 between Lynn and Salem appears to be identical with the present one which has Swampscott, Lynn, Lynnfield, and Reading on one side, and Marblehead, Salem, and Peabody on the other.

It may be interesting to inhabitants of these cities and towns to read the quaint wording of the old Order and to follow the line as it shows on a map. "Begin at the cliffe by the sea [begin at Beach Bluff] where the water runs, [parallel with a little brook which has two ponds upon it] as the way lieth from Linn to Marble Head [this "Way" is known in Marblehead as the old Lynn Road], & run vpon a straight line to the long pond [Spring Pond], . . . at the south end thereof, . . . and the whole pond to be in Salem bounds, & from that pond . . . to the iland in Mr. Humphrey's pond [Humphrey's Island in Suntaug Lake] . . . to 6 great pine trees [on Pine Hill, a mile from Lynnfield Centre] vnto a little pine tree. . . . [The line, which started nearly east to west, and has been curving from point to point, is now running almost due north; the 'little pine' may have been by the Ipswich River, where the present line ceases] to run upon the same line, [northerly] as farr as o—r bounds shall reach, into the countrey." Before either town had settlers in this remote region, other towns were laid out between the Ipswich River and the Merrimac, and this extension of the line disappeared.

[1] I am informed by a Concord antiquarian that I drew the western line of Concord too far to the west. No part of Acton was included in the first grant to Concord.

The ancient town of Lynn included with the present city of that name the towns of Nahant, Swampscott, Saugus, Lynnfield, Wakefield (once South Reading), Reading, North Reading, and part of Wilmington.



The ancient town of Salem included Peabody (once South Danvers), Danvers (once Salem Village), Beverly (once Bass River), Wenham (once Enon), Manchester (once Jeffry's Creek), Marblehead (once Marble Harbor), and part of Middleton.

The ancient town of Charlestown included Somerville, Everett, Malden (once Mystic Side), Melrose, Stoneham, part of Winchester (once South Woburn), Woburn (once Charlestown Village), Burlington, and part of Wilmington.

In this year, "Mr. Ezechi: Rogers, Mr. Phillips & their company had granted them 8 miles every way into the countrey." This plantation afterwards was named Rowley, and included the present Groveland (once part of Rowley Village), Georgetown, Boxford, part of Middleton, and the Bradford section of Haverhill on the south side of the Merrimac River.

The laying out of this eight mile area penned in the town of Ipswich and prevented its extension at any future time. It included Essex, Hamilton (once Ipswich Hamlet), Topsfield (once the Village at the New Meadows), and part of Middleton.

Also this year it was ordered by the General Court that a fishing plantation be begun at Cape Anne. This, later, became Gloucester.

The name of Merrimack was changed to Colechester.

Many of the boundaries between these ancient towns in what are now Essex and Middlesex counties were not surveyed and described for many years, but they are indicated on the map of this year for a better understanding of the story. In the settlement of the boundary between Lynn and the Chelsea district of Boston, a long, narrow strip of land was left to Boston, extending northerly for three miles along the side of what is now Melrose. This strip was known as the panhandle of Boston, and later as the panhandle of Chelsea. Before Revere was set off from Chelsea most of this strip was given to Saugus, and today only a stub of it remains as the Franklin Park district of Revere.

One other boundary was established this year, between Dorchester and "Mount Woolastone." This ran from the top of Blue Hill to meet the boundary of the other side of Mount Wollaston at the boundary of Plymouth Colony. When this colonial boundary was finally established, it cut off the southern tip of Mount Wollaston.

According to Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, Samuel Bennett, a carpenter, came in the *James* from London in 1635, aged twenty-four, and was a member of the Artillery Company in 1639. He lived near the boundary between Lynn and Boston and was accredited first to Lynn.

In 1649 Valentine Hill and John Leveret conveyed to "Sam: Bennet of Lin" six hundred acres bounded with "the line of the bounds of Charlestowne westward: the line of Lin bounds eastward, & northward to the uttermost bounds of Boston at that place." The grantors added as a postscript, "The certaine bounds of ye land we knowe not."

The line between Boston and Lynn was run in 1678, as recorded in Boston Town Records, "to the corner bounds betwixt Bostone and Linn, which is also in Readinge line where we raised a heape of stones upon the side of a hill." "Linn perambulators agreed to this."

In Boston Town Records of 1693 occurs the following:

"Perambulatours for to run the line of the boundes between Lin and Boston Malden and Boston Reading and Boston were chosen," "and at 12 of the clock to meet with Reading men at the beginning of the line or the 3 County heap."

This heap of stones has been levelled to form a circular platform. In the centre rises a granite shaft inscribed "3 CO X" which stands for three county mark, the spot where Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex Counties once joined. Thus a monument to the northernmost limit of Boston stands today in Wakefield woods.[1]

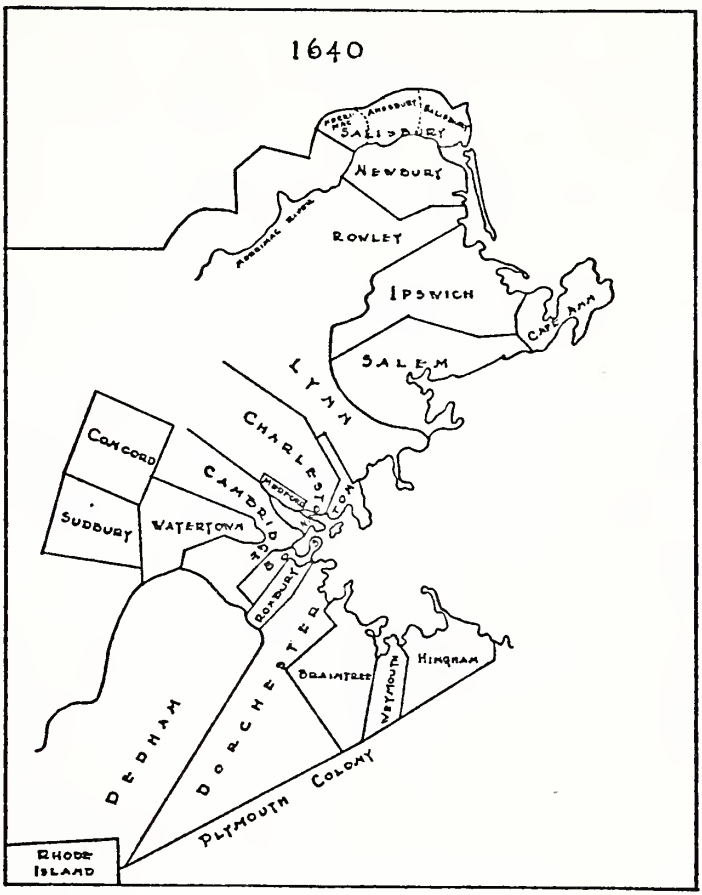
1640

Only a few changes in boundaries were made this year, but several orders were passed which affected old towns or looked to the creating of new ones.

"The petition of the inhabitants of Salem for some of their church to have Jeffryes Creeke & land to erect a village there, . . . is granted them." This region later became Manchester.

[1] In drawing the map for this year it was not made plain that Somerville was then a part of Charlestown.

"The desires of Mr. Ward and Newbury men . . . to consider of Patucket & Coijchawick & to grant it them. . . ." These two regions later became Haverhill, Andover, and the



adjoining towns. Lawrence was originally parts of Andover and Methuen.

"It is ordered that such land and medowe at Conihasset as shall fall wth in this iurisdiction shalbee confered upon Hingham."

"The petition of the inhabitants of Mount Woolaston was

voted, & granted them to bee a towne according to the agreement wth Boston . . . & the towne is to bee called Braintree." This region, being entirely separate from Boston, was predestined to be set apart by itself. It included the present city of Quincy and the towns of Randolph and Holbrook.

"Rowley bound is to bee 8 miles from their meeting house, in a straight line, & then a crose line diameter from Ipswich Ryver to Merrimack Ryver."

"Colchester is henceforward to bee called Salsbury." This now is the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, and Merrimac.

1641

As has been told, in 1635 the inhabitants of Roxbury had been granted liberty "to remove themselues to any place they shall thinke meete, not to piudice another plantacon, pvided they continue still vnder this goumt." Under the leadership of William Pynchon, they sailed out of Massachusetts Bay, around Cape Cod, through Long Island Sound, and up the Connecticut River to the Indian region of Agawam (the third of its name in the state) and there started the town of Springfield.

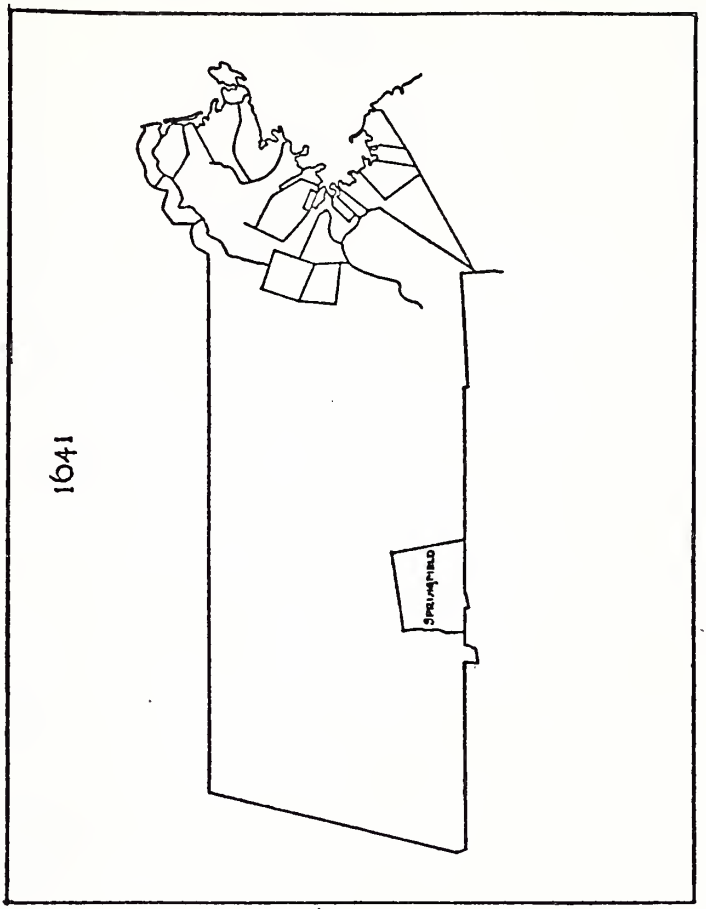
By 1641 the government of Connecticut began to urge that this settlement was far from the Bay settlements, adjacent to the Connecticut settlements, and that its people had been discharged from adherence to the Bay government when they migrated, just as truly as had Mr. Hooker's company when they left Cambridge and went to Hartford.

But the Bay magistrates ordered otherwise and held the region as theirs. Later the Indian region on the other side of the river, called Woronoake, was added to Springfield, so that when bounds were finally run it looked as shown on the map.

"The Answer to the Petition of Mr. Pinchen & others, of Springfeild, upon the Conectecott,

"neighbors and friends upon Conectecot have taken offence at them for adhering to our government & withdrawing from that upon the river, supposing that they had formerly been

dismissed from this jurisdiction, & that we had bound ourselves by our own act from claiming any jurisdiction or interest in Agawam, now Springfeild," from "some passages in a

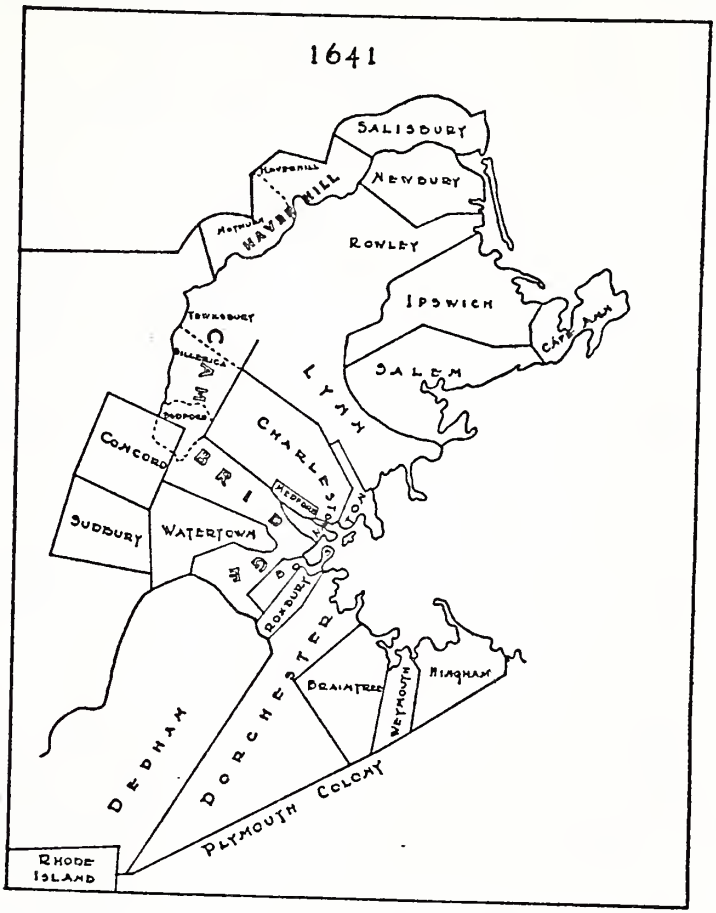


commission granted by this Court in the first m°, 1635 to Mr. Pinchen & others for the government of the said inhabitants."

It was "ordered, that a plantation for the furthering of fishing shall fourth wth bee set up at Nantaskot, & that all the

neck to the end of the furthest beach towards Hingham, where the tide overfloweth, shall belong to it."[1]

It was ordered that "bounds for Charlestowne village are



to be set out . . . the contents of 4 mile square." Charlestown Village was the part of Charlestown which now is Woburn and its neighborhood.

Then "Shawshin is granted to Cambridge." This region was

[1] In the haste of finishing this map, the boundary line was overlooked.

the valley of Shawshine River in what now are Bedford and Billerica.

A slight change was made when "Squantums Neck and Mennens Moone are layd to Dorchester."

Another order was passed "to set out the bounds between Salsberry & Pantucket, ali: Haverell."

It was further "ordered, that every towne should set out their bounds wth in a twelue month after their bounds are granted."

Bounds between Boston and Cambridge to Dedham line were defined.

Any citizen of Boston, Cambridge, or Dedham today will be likely to say that this combination of towns is impossible; but in those days Brookline was part of Boston, while Newton and Brighton were part of Cambridge. So in terms of today this was the boundary between Brighton and Newton on one side and Brookline on the other and to the Dedham line.

1642

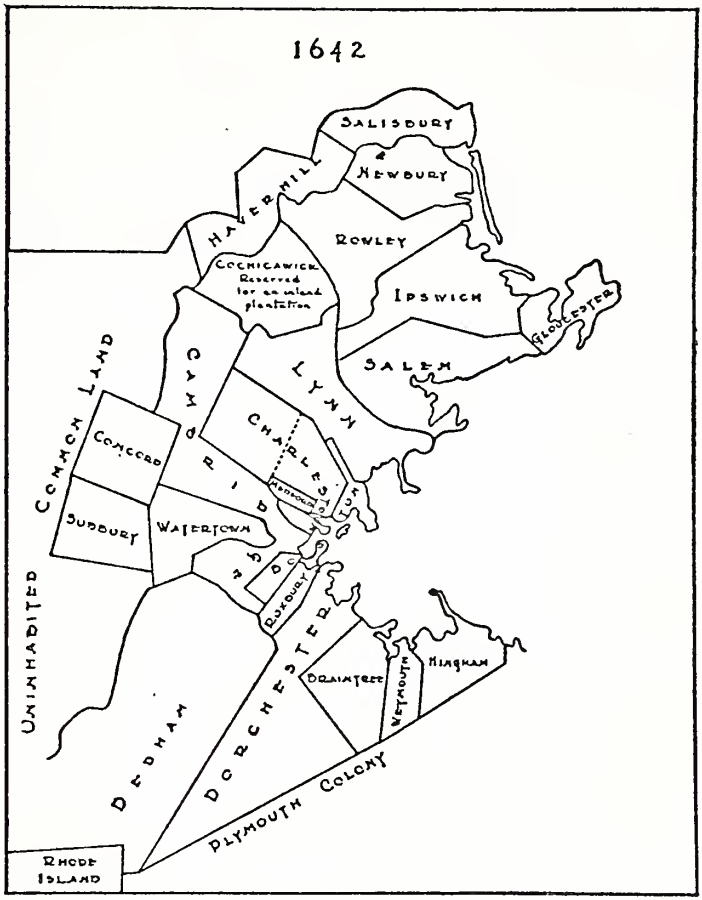
In this year were granted "bounds between Cape Ann and Ipswich, at a white oake, marked on 4 sides, about 12 rod in a south east and east line, bewixt the 2 meeting houses, to the southward of Chebacco Marshes; and from that tree, by quartering the compass by a south west & by south, & by a north east & north lyne, the remainder to lye to Jeffries Creeke."

Also "All the land lying upon Saweshin Ryver, & between that & Concord Ryver, and between that & Merrimack Ryver, not formerly granted by this Cort, are granted to Cambridge, so it shall not extend to preiudice Charlestown village, or the village of Cochitawit, nor the farmes formerly granted to the now Govrnor of 1260 ac, & to Thom: Dudley, Esq, 1500 ac, & 3000 ac to Mrs. Winthrope."

This extended Cambridge bounds to Merrimack River and made the town about thirty-five miles long. By persistently demanding more land, Cambridge had done very well in the decade since it started with a population of about ten families.

In this year Gloucester was first mentioned in a list of towns to be taxed.

In June a committee was appointed to set bounds for Charlestown Village and Lynn Village.



Now begins the cutting down of these overgrown townships. In September, "Charlestown village is called Wooborne." The first township of Woburn was about six miles square, and included beside the present city of that name, parts of Winchester, Wilmington, and Burlington.

Now the first great wave of immigration had passed. For the next decade relatively few people came from England. During most of this time the colonists were busied in settling the areas already laid out and in carving new towns out of the older, unwieldy ones as Woburn had been carved out of Charlestown. The Concord and Sudbury Rivers and the upper reaches of Charles River were the western limits of the settlements and served in some degree to protect them from the danger of Indian invasion. It was not until 1653 that the limits were extended westward, when the new frontier town of Lancaster was laid out on the Nashua River, and Massachusetts resumed its march into the wilderness.

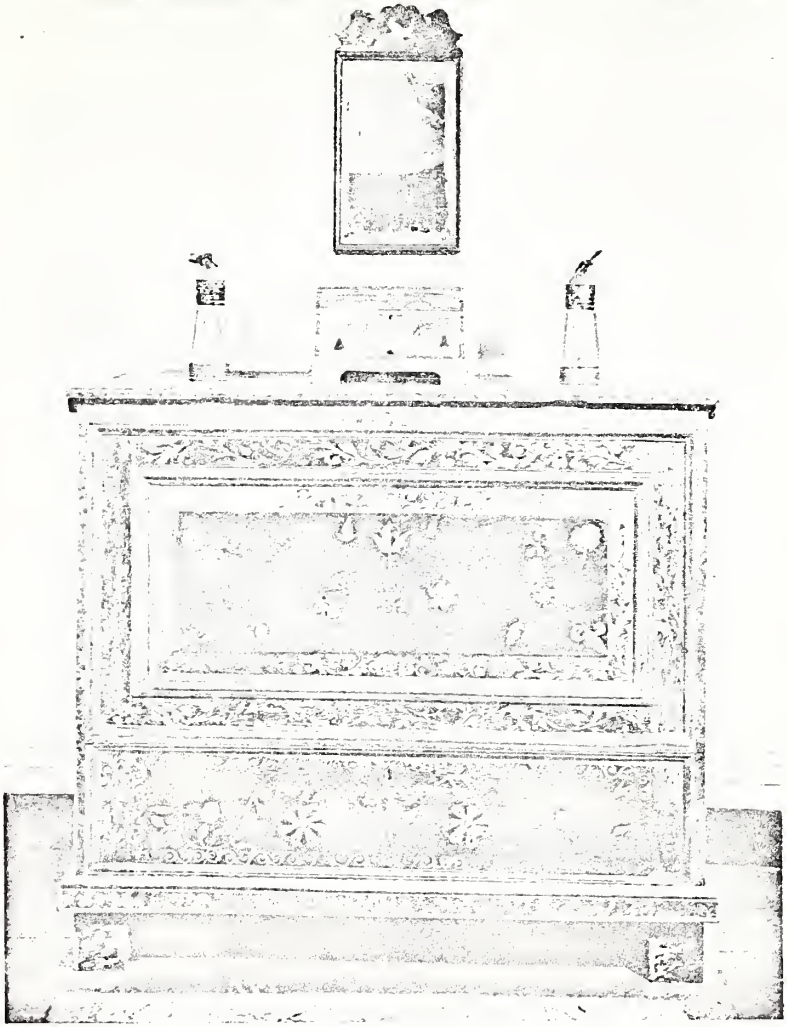
PAINTED DECORATION IN COLONIAL HOMES

By Esther Stevens Fraser

Read November 12, 1930

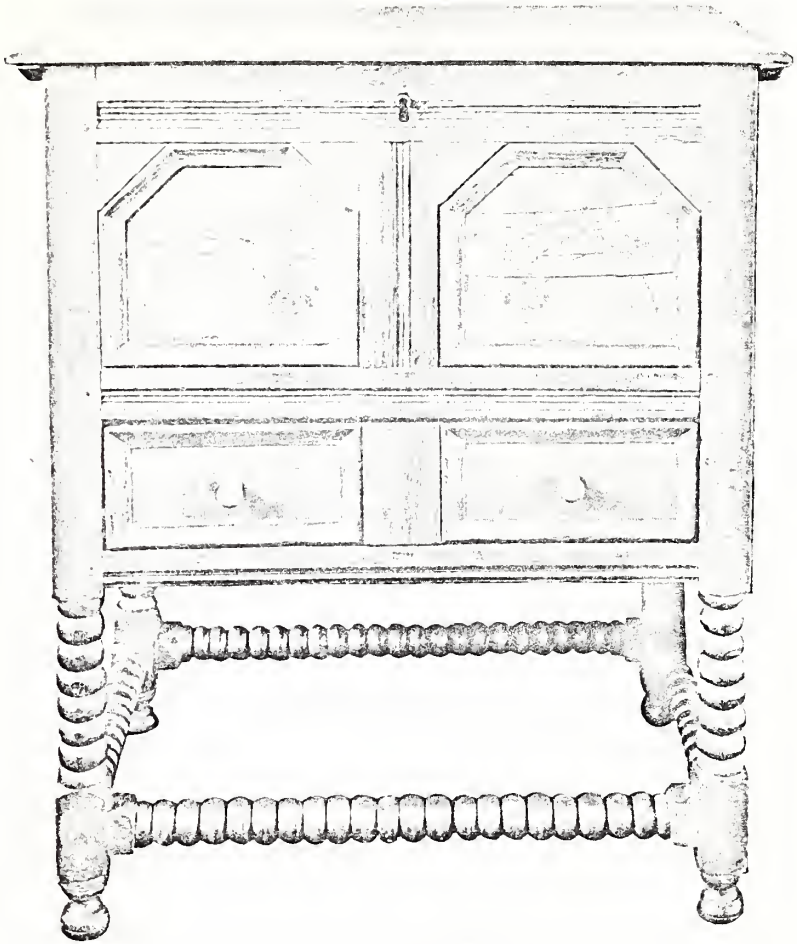
Two methods of ornamentation were used in old Colonial days to enrich the homes of our ancestors: painting and carving. Of these two, much has been said and written concerning the carved decoration of furniture and panelling, but little has been published on the subject of early American painted ornament. Such is the transitory nature of paint that few examples of original decoration remain, but here and there we find fragmentary evidence helpful in piecing together a rapid and perhaps incomplete, but nevertheless enlightening, survey of early American decorative design.

Of course we cannot say that the history of American painted decoration goes back to the days of the first settlement at Plymouth, for the pioneers' first thought must always be of food and shelter. Besides, the Puritan religion frowned upon all attempt at personal or household adornment. So we find the fine arts flourishing earliest in the Connecticut River valley where luxuriant farms and a more liberal religious doctrine fostered a love of beauty and fine living. Here were men of wealth who had lived in fine homes abroad and who rapidly built for themselves houses of comfort and architectural beauty second to none in New England. From Guilford or Saybrook, adjoining towns near the mouth of the Connecticut River, hail those beautifully painted chests and boxes which date in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Some appear Dutch in their derivation, others show a more delicate touch as of Flemish or French influence, and still others seem unimaginative and English in feeling. No doubt several different craftsmen of these various nationalities were responsible for the fabrication and ornamentation of these so-called Guilford



GUILFORD CHEST

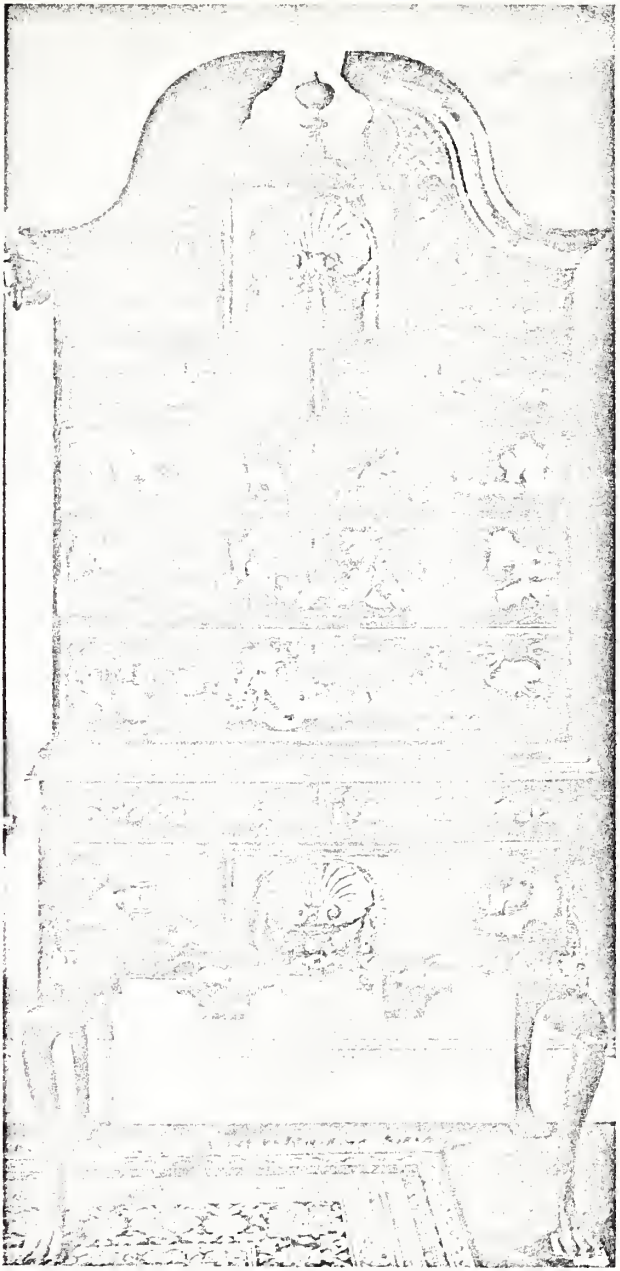
Owned by Esther S. Fraser



A DECORATED CHEST-ON-FRAME FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Showing greater simplicity in decoration. Date 1680 to 1700
Owned by William B. Goodwin, Hartford, Conn.

THE LABELLED TAUNTON CHEST DATED 1729
From the Collection of Mrs. J. Insley Blair



JAPANNED HIGHBOY MADE IN BOSTON ABOUT 1740
Owned by Mr. J. T. G. Nichols

chests. Carved Connecticut chests are well known for their richness and beauty. So also will the painted Connecticut chest hold first rank in the lists of American painted furniture. There were also decorated highboys made in this region, and chests of drawers were ornamented in similar fashion by Connecticut decorators. Then there were small chests and Bible boxes, salt boxes and miscellaneous small items made for the pure love of creating something ornamental.

Gradually Massachusetts began to follow the lead of her sister colony, and occasionally produced a few painted chests, though these never equalled the Connecticut chests in elaboration or sheer beauty. The chief runner-up in this competition was the chests from the region of Taunton, Massachusetts, made probably by Robert Crosman, a drum maker and joiner by trade, and a prominent man in the political and martial history of Taunton. These chests date from 1725 to 1745, and are always decorated with a vine or tree-of-life design in white with a few touches of color superimposed upon a rusty black background. From the vicinity of Ipswich, Massachusetts, come the distinctive little chests-on-frame ornamented with a simple spray design painted on its sunken panels.

Early in the eighteenth century our cities attracted men trained to do that lacquer-like Oriental type of finish known as japanning. In Boston we know of seven different japanners working between 1711 and 1770, and we have every reason to believe that other progressive and cosmopolitan cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Newport, and Salem also had japanners at work. Their efforts were not confined to any one type of furniture, for a wide variety is listed in some of their advertisements. The chief kinds of japanned furniture now remaining, however, are mirrors, tall case clocks, and highboys, with an occasional lowboy and bureau.

The finest piece known of its kind is a japanned highboy found to have a Boston cabinetmaker's name on the back of each drawer and therefore undoubtedly finished by a Boston japanner. The highboy would be amazingly rich and beautiful

without any painted ornament, inasmuch as the carved shells and festooned garlands are most perfectly executed. But with the japanned finish, the final product makes a masterpiece of which Boston may well be proud.

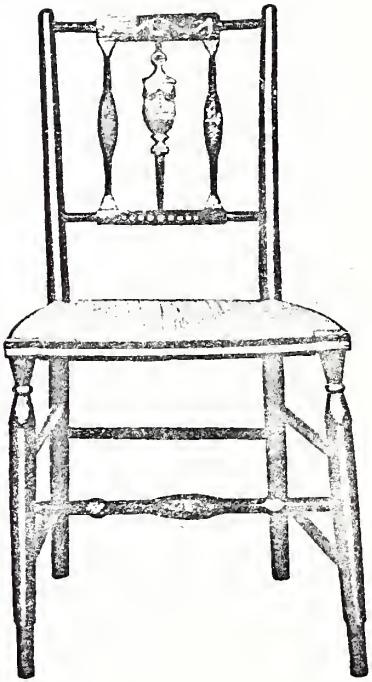
In Pennsylvania during the middle and late 1700's there developed a unique folk-art among the German or so-called "Dutch" settlers. This was the land of the dower chest, upon which the decorator lavished all his ability depicting unicorns and horsemen, vases of flowers, and even brides and bridegrooms in their quaint eighteenth century costumes. Nowhere was the love of decoration and gay color more indulged in than in the older German counties of eastern Pennsylvania. Here is the only place in the country that decorated barns are customary!

It is to be presumed that the Revolutionary War marked a temporary hiatus in the production of painted furniture. After the soul-stirring and desperate conflict there ensued a long period of depression and economic upheaval, during which little fine furniture was produced. In England, furniture styles had taken a complete turn from florid Chippendale types to the classic simplicity of Adam and Heppelwhite designs. Owing to the post-war depression, therefore, little American-made furniture on Adam or Heppelwhite lines was ever produced, and of this small amount but little received an ornamental paint finish. Occasionally, however, we find this style of chair made of maple (not beech, as it would have been in England), and sometimes we run across a three or four chair back settee with naturalistically painted roses and leaf sprays. Once in a great while we find a hall table built on Adam lines boasting of painted ornament in classic style. But the duration of this Heppelwhite period was exceedingly short even in England, and was rapidly superseded by the Sheraton style.

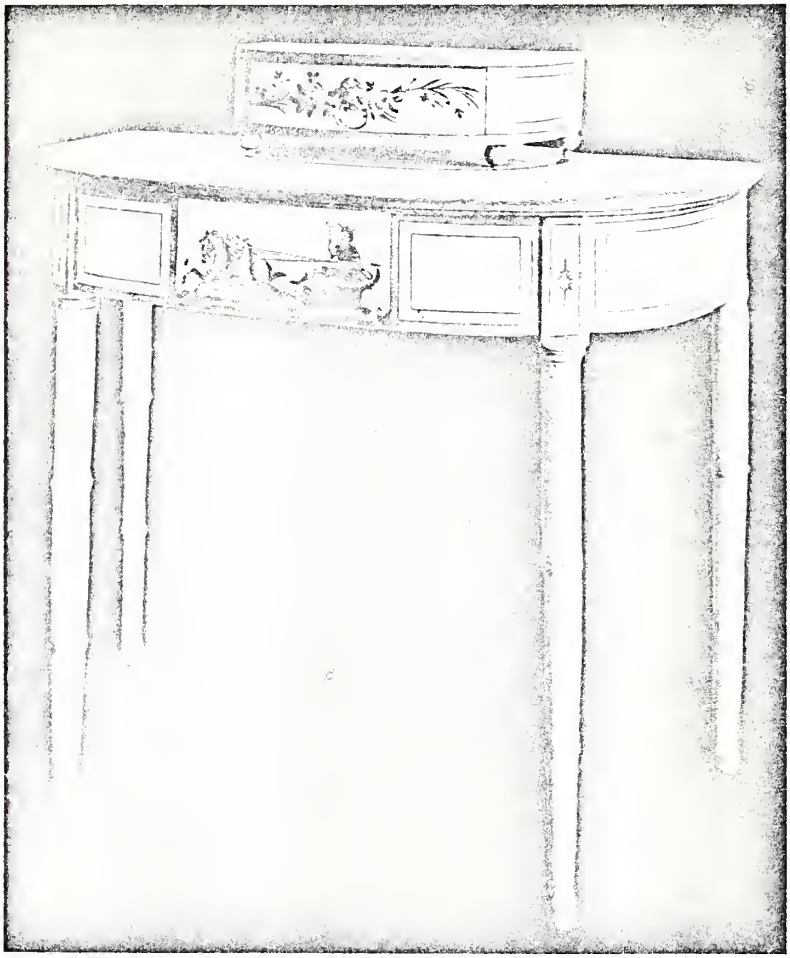
Emerging from the post-war depression early in the 1790's, American business once more began to build upon a sound basis, and the fine arts came into a period of prosperity such as they had never before experienced. At this time Sheraton

LANCASTER COMPANY SUNKEN PANEL CHEST, PENNSYLVANIA

Collection of Clarence W. Brazer



AMERICAN
SHERATON FANCY CHAIRS
PHILADELPHIA TYPE
Owned by Esther S. Fraser



SHERATON FANCY DRESSING TABLE, SALEM TYPE
Owned by Mrs. Washburn

had brought out his book of designs which was used by American cabinet and chair makers as a basis for the construction of furniture classic in beauty and highly restrained in ornament. During this period painted decoration on chairs was almost universal and every house must have had a "fancy chair" or two. The term "fancy chair" which lasted in popularity from the 1790's to the 1840's seems to have meant simply decorated or painted with some ornamental design. Chairs with painted finish could be made of inexpensive woods, and turned out quite reasonably, whereas mahogany chairs were still expensive. "Fancy chair" manufactories sprang up everywhere, some in every city and others in certain outlying rural communities such as western Connecticut, where forests of wood to be worked were most accessible.

This American Sheraton period was responsible for the production of many beautiful pieces, for tall post beds with painted cornices from which the bed draperies were hung, for dainty dressing tables ornamented in delicate gold leaf designs matching "fancy chair" patterns, for decorated sewing tables and dainty settees with flower sprays in gold. This was the period of delicate and beautiful background colors, pale gray, yellow buff, sea foam green of palest hue, vermilion, French green of middle tone, and white, beside the more customary darker grounds of dark red, tortoise-shell, and black.

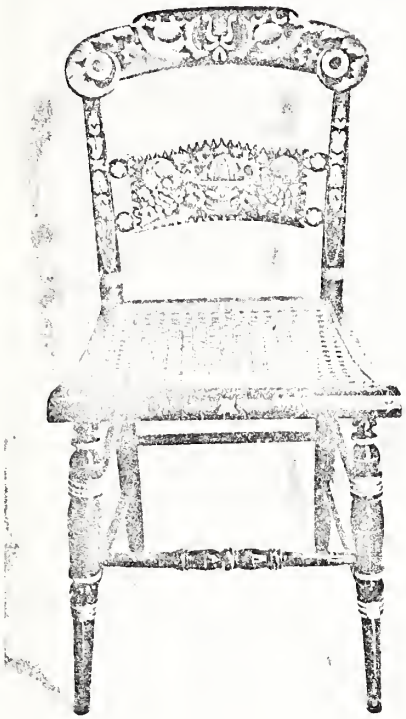
But alas! the period of good taste and restrained beauty was slowly undermined by that insidious destroyer of fine art, factory competition. Once machines were introduced and quantity production was fostered, with price cutting aiding and abetting the downhill slide, we no longer produced the praiseworthy examples of painted furniture that we had been fabricating. In an effort to achieve quickly executed ornament (for "fancy chairs" were still popular) stenciling was introduced, whereby a bronze design could be applied in half an hour rather than half a day. Many of these chairs were produced in the western Connecticut towns where wooden products of various kinds were being turned out on an exten-

sive scale. Chief among these manufacturers was Lambert Hitchcock, whose name has survived the century so well that it has been applied to many chairs of stencil-decorated type that never came out of his factory. Hitchcock made an especially fine chair (both straight and rocker types) and refused to abandon all the niceties he believed a chair should have. His declining fortunes keeping step with the country-wide period of financial distress, he tried many ways to attract business. He even shipped knockdown chair-parts to Jamaica for assembling, much in the way now made famous by Henry Ford. But this was of no avail, for Hitchcock died a bankrupt and broken-hearted man, wrecked by that fatal combination of competition, depression, and inartistic appreciation of the times.

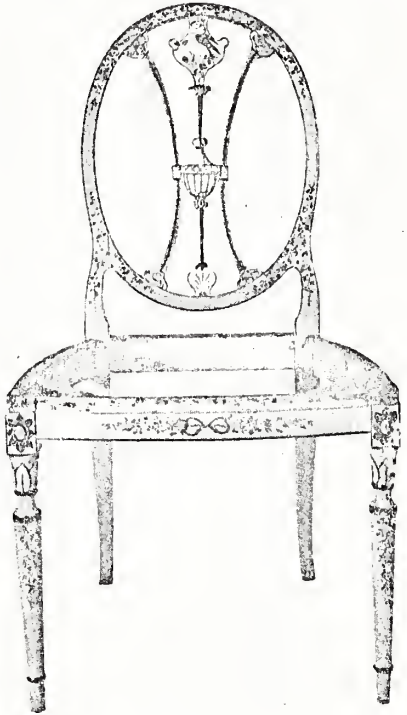
The only thing of universal success in this forlorn period of the 1830's seems to have been the Boston rocker, turned out in huge numbers all over the country and usually ornamented with a bronze stencil design. Still, we must admit that the popularity was more likely due to the comfort of the rockers than to any particular beauty of chair construction or of painted ornament!

Early Victorian days were ushered in with the invention of the wood-carving machine, destined to put an end to all fine ornamental design in this country for several decades. So we leave the study of painted furniture at this point to take up the question of painted walls and floors which oftentimes formed a background for some of the foregoing pieces of furniture.

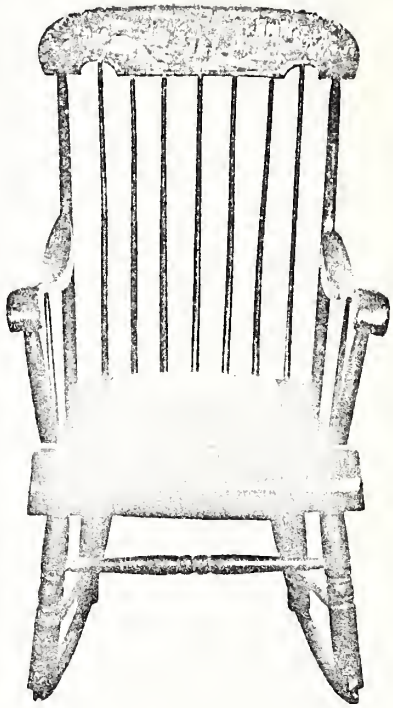
This brings us to a fascinating subject, for few ornamented walls and floors remain in their original paint, while many old designs have been scraped away in unscholarly restorations of Colonial houses. Even when our earliest floors were sand-covered, our great-great-grandmothers swept patterns in them with their brooms. So when sand gave way to paint as a floor covering, ornamental patterns soon sprang into popularity. Paint on interior woodwork in Colonial houses does not appear



LABELLED L. HITCHCOCK,
HITCHCOCKSVILLE, CONN.
WARRANTED
Owned by E. S. Fraser



PAINTED HEPPELWHITE CHAIR
PALE GREEN BACKGROUND
Owned by Mrs. Harlow G. Mendenhall,
Litchfield, Conn.

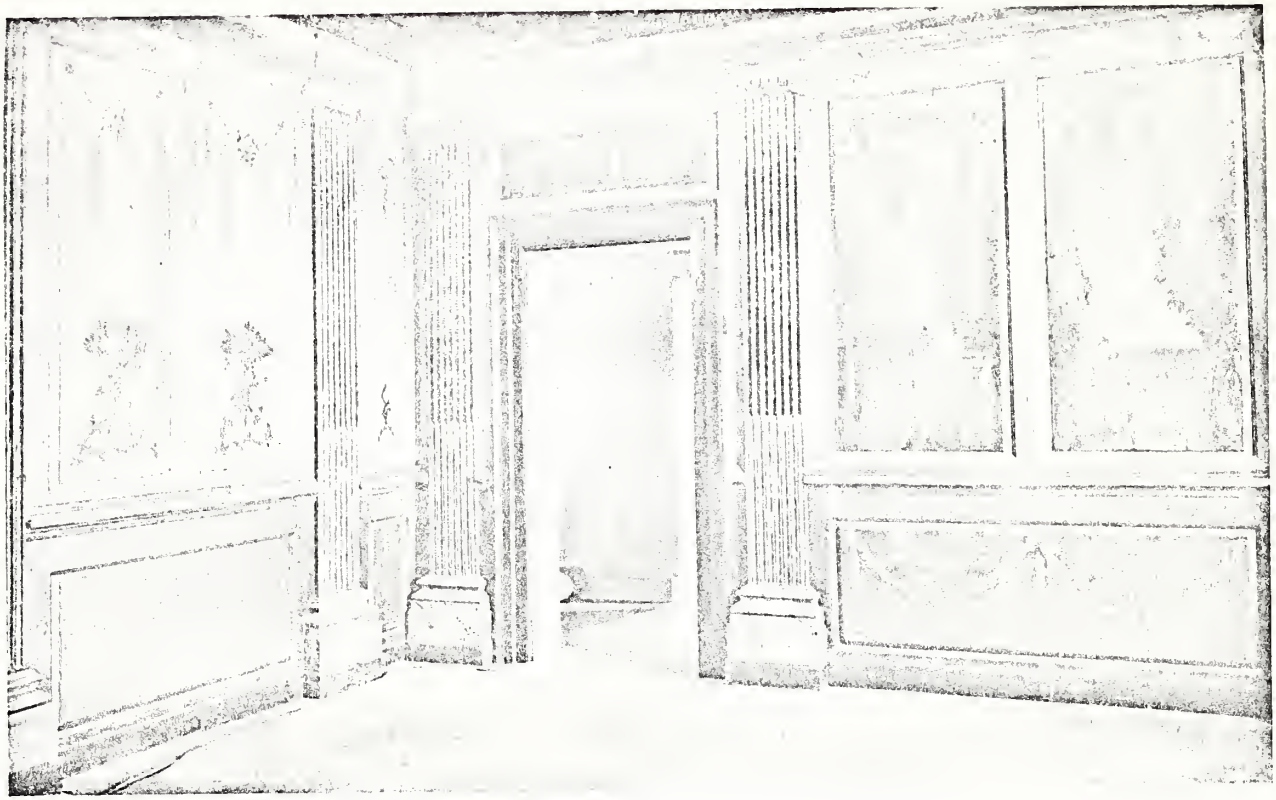


BOSTON ROCKER
Owned by Mrs. Louis L. Green

RECONSTRUCTION OF PATTERN
ONCE ON THE FLOOR OF THE "LAFAYETTE ROOM,"
WAYSIDE INN, SUDBURY, MASS.

Colors: black, dull red and French blue on yellow ochre ground

FREEHAND WALL DECORATION
ON PALE YELLOW BACKGROUND,
NEW GLOUCESTER, MAINE



ROOM FROM "MARMION," NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA
Now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

to have been used prior to the 1720's; yet in the typical Cape Cod town of Barnstable there are two freehand decorated floors that were executed only a few years after that date. Many floors were stenciled in a sort of rug pattern, with a running border a foot or more in width, and an allover design laid off in square or diamond shaped units. At the Wayside Inn in Sudbury, Massachusetts, one such floor used to exist in the "Lafayette room" but is now very badly worn away. The stenciled floor period began in the 1780's and lasted well into the nineteenth century. The age of spatter floors is doubtful; I have yet to see an old-time floor where the first paint upon the boards gives evidence of having been finished in spatter work. It therefore makes me suspicious that this method of finishing came into vogue around the 1840's, when artistic decoration met with a sudden and disastrous decline.

The earliest form of American wallpainting appears to have been the ornamentation of the overmantel panel with decorative designs or landscapes. From this it was only a step to the complete decoration of a panelled room such as the one from Virginia now installed at the Metropolitan Museum. In parts of Connecticut whole rooms or fireplace walls were marbled in realistic fashion. Other sections of the thirteen colonies doubtless followed suit where the owner could afford the finest of finishes, but evidence is lacking concerning the extent of this ornamental painting. So many panelled walls have been repainted and so many others have been scraped of all their various paint layers that it is impossible for us to know just how many of these once had ornamental painting.

Fine panelling had eventually to give way to plaster walls for the display of newly fashionable wall paper, imported from France, England, or the Orient for the wealthy or locally made for those who could not afford the foreign product. Back in the remote country sections this interest in patterned walls brought forth a new form of craftsmanship, the painting of walls with designs that resembled wall paper. Friezes and borders may have been all that the earliest walls could boast

of for ornament, but allover patterns soon followed. One of the most fascinating walls I know of is to be seen in the finest house at New Gloucester, Maine, where the two-story hall is decorated in a freehand allover pattern of delicate grape vines and leaf sprays. The time required to complete this hallway would make such artistry quite expensive today, but in those days time and artistic labor were more easily obtained and less costly.

Stenciling was more usual for painted walls in these remote sections, however, for travelling decorators with their stencil kits were busy persuading housewives to have their walls ornamented like wall paper. Often the only pay demanded was board and room while the work was being done, the paints or dyes used sometimes being made from natural products. Scattered through highly inaccessible sections of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, as well as rural Massachusetts, we find fascinating examples of stenciled walls or remains of them peeping out from behind torn bits of wall paper. Occasionally the decorator had the ability to paint large landscape frescoes that come very close to approximating the scenic wall papers being brought over from France. Just how widespread the custom of stenciling walls became, we may judge from the fact that the oldest building now standing in Ohio (a tavern built at Conneaut in 1810) has several old-time stenciled walls. Very possibly a few housewives or husbands who possessed a goodly degree of artistic ability may have stenciled their own walls. In general the coloring of such walls is gay, the design being executed in vermilion, dark red, green and black on a pink, a yellow, or a pale gray background. Surely we must believe that no matter where our ancestors lived, they were not forced to put up with drab surroundings!

In these various ways our forefathers made use of paint to brighten their homes and their furnishings. Let us look forward to the time when original paint will receive all the respect it deserves, and will be preserved as a sort of archaeological record of the days now gone by. For the ruthless

STENCIL HALLWAY AT WALDOBORO, MAINE

scraping away of paint must yield to the scientific uncovering of original designs by expert methods now being developed. The care and preservation of old-time decorations become more and more imperative as untouched examples grow rarer and rarer year after year.

A HISTORY OF BERKELEY STREET, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

BY ALICE C. ALLYN

Read January 27, 1931

MY recollection of Berkeley Street dates from 1857, and at that time much of the street was meadow and pasture land. Cambridge was more of a village in those primitive times. Horse cars tinkled up Brattle Street and North Avenue at stated intervals; the lamplighter made his evening rounds with a ladder on his shoulder; the streets were not drained, and rubber boots were a necessity. It was in those days that Judge Joel Parker said to his wife, "The neighbors will think we are out for a swim instead of a walk."

A brook ran babbling across the street from Concord Avenue to join another brook in Professor Longfellow's land and then flowed into the pond on the estate on Brattle Street then owned by Worcester the lexicographer. Then, also, poor misshapen John the orange man shuffled from door to door with his basket of fruit on his arm, his face always radiant with smiles. Many years later he became mascot for the Harvard students and was presented with a donkey wagon which was conspicuous at all the Harvard games.

The street was laid out on what was the old Wyeth farm, and descendants of the family still live in Cambridge. I have been told that the first lot of land was sold to Richard H. Dana, Sr., and later transferred to his son, Richard H. Dana, Jr., the noted lawyer, also famed as the author of *Two Years Before the Mast.* It was the corner lot, now number 4, and the street was named by Richard H. Dana, Jr., for Bishop Berkeley. Early in 1852 the family moved into their house and lived there until 1869. There was a high board fence surrounding the grounds, which seems to have been the custom

at that time, and there was much shrubbery about the house, cedars and hemlock. There is still a large tulip tree in the center of the lawn, survivor of these early days.

After the Danas moved to Boston, the house was rented to the Misses Bowen, sisters of Professor Bowen, and they liked the house so well that they built their house on Follen Street on somewhat the same plan. Mr. and Mrs. Francis C. Foster, when they were first married, were tenants in this house before they went to live on Oxford Street. Later Mrs. Lombard lived there with her two daughters. Miss Esther Lombard will be remembered as a well-loved piano teacher. She married Mr. George C. Mann, a son of Horace Mann. Before 1876 Mr. James Brooks bought the house and with him lived his mother, his sister Miss Martha Brooks, and his sister Mrs. John Fiske with her husband and their six children. Mrs. Brooks did not live long. It was said that "she died of too much grandmother"! Later, Mr. John Fiske built the house farther up the street, now numbered 22. After the John Fiskes moved into their new house, Mr. and Mrs. John Brooks, with their two charming children, came to live with their brother. Later they built on Ash Street and Mr. James Brooks and his sister Martha removed to Petersham and lived there until their death a few years since.

In 1890 Judge Jeremiah Smith bought the house, coming from Dover, New Hampshire, with his wife and a son and a daughter, to take a professorship in the Harvard Law School. They were cordially welcomed to the neighborhood and for many years Judge Smith was a familiar figure as he took his daily horseback ride. His father was born in the reign of George II, fought in the Revolution, and was a friend of Washington. The son and daughter of Judge Smith still live in the same house. The son maintained the reputation of the family when he was sent to Hungary after the World War to better the finances of that country and did so without financial reward.

The next house, number 6 now, was built by Miss Dennison

for her niece, Miss Sarah Hodges, when she married Rev. Joshua Swan in 1851. He was called at once to the Unitarian Church at Kennebunk, Maine, and the house was rented, first to a Captain Nash, possibly a sea captain, as there were traditions in the neighborhood of a wonderful collection of shells he owned. After he left, Governor Washburn rented the house while he was building his house on Quincy Street. In the autumn of 1857 my mother rented the house and remained there until 1861, when she bought the Wyeth house across the street. When we moved out, Dr. and Mrs. Brinckerhoff occupied the house for several years. He was stationed at the Charlestown Navy Yard. His wife was very charming. There was a son in college and a daughter and a younger son. A very young and beautiful little girl died of scarlet fever soon after they came there. Dr. Brinckerhoff had a passion for collecting papers and magazines, and every evening he returned home with his arms full. Moreover, they were all kept. After his death wagonload after wagonload was carted away. Then Mr. and Mrs. John Bartlett with their dog, Nimbus, rented the house for a year or two before building their house on Brattle Street.

In the autumn of 1869, Mr. and Mrs. Swan at last came to their own house. Ill health had obliged Mr. Swan to give up his parish, and after some months in Europe they came to Cambridge, and he took the position of Secretary at the Boston Natural History Society. He died in 1871 and Mrs. Swan lived on with her children in Berkeley Street until they were all married. She had provided them all with homes and she then went to live with her son Dr. William D. Swan, on Brattle Street. The Berkeley Street house was given to the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who had married Frank Bolles, Secretary of Harvard University, author of several charming nature books. Mrs. Swan's children and grandchildren have been well known in Cambridge. Her son is a physician, the President of the Cambridge Hospital, and her second daughter, Margaret, married William E. Russell, Mayor of Cambridge,

and later Governor of Massachusetts. After his death she married Dr. Michael Foster of England. The third daughter, Olive, married J. Bertram Williams, and Bertram Williams Square is named for their son, a young aviator who lost his life in the World War. The house, now owned by Mrs. Bolles' youngest daughter, whose home is in British Columbia, has been rented for some years to Mrs. Oliver B. Filley, who has her grandchildren with her.

The three houses opposite were built about the same time, before 1857. The corner house, number 1, was built by Dr. Pryor, pastor of the Baptist Church when it stood on Holmes Place near where the Harvard Law School now is, and before it was moved up North Avenue. Dr. Pryor found the house too large and sold it to Mr. Octavius Pickering. It has subsequently had many occupants. After the Civil War it was bought by Mr. Albert Brown, who had been secretary to Governor Andrews during the Civil War and whose wife was Mattie Griffith. She had freed her slaves before the war. They were very interesting people and had interesting guests with them. The Grimcke sisters were their friends and also Robert Dale Owen. He was a noted Spiritualist and wrote *Foot Falls on the Boundary of Another World.* Mr. Brown's favorite color was red, and Mrs. Brown wore a bright red evening dress with gold stars over it. You could also meet her in the Square with red leather gloves, and their dining room chairs were upholstered in red leather. They loved children and, having none of their own, Anna Gade and Johnnie Howells were often called in to amuse them. They were a real loss when they went to New York.

A Lewando family were in the house for a short time. They were said to have furnished the material for the story of *The Colonel's Opera Cloak.* I was told that they wished socially to be known as Lewandosky, but for business purposes simply Lewando. Later it was occupied by families named Canfield and McLeod. Miss Mabel McLeod, now the wife of Judge Franklin T. Hammond, still lives in Cambridge. For several

years the house became a boarding house with varying names, until the Rev. Maximilian Kellner married Mrs. Arthur Brooks. They bought the house and enlarged and improved it. They adopted a son and enjoyed the home for some years. After Mrs. Kellner's death it was sold to Mr. and Mrs. Basil King, and again enlarged and an entire top story added, so that the original house is much changed in appearance. Mr. King was for some years rector of Christ Church and later, though almost blind, wrote several novels that had wide circulation. Since Mr. King's death, Mrs. King has rented the house to different tenants.

Dr. Pryor built not only number 1 but the smaller house next door as well, and he and his wife lived there for some years. There was a daughter Libby, who married an author, James DeMille, who came from Halifax. Mrs. Pryor also was from the Provinces, I suppose, as she had marvelous three-cornered postage stamps from Newfoundland which delighted the children. After a time there was some trouble in the church and Dr. Pryor lost his position. After his death Mrs. Pryor lived in Lexington and died there very poor.

In 1865 the John Bartletts were living in this house, before they moved across the street to the Swan house. At that time Mr. Bartlett probably had the corner book store in the Square, on premises that later were occupied by Wyeth's grocery. They had a few boarders then. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sever when they were first married lived there, and Mary Towle, later Mrs. Frederic Palmer, also boarded there while she attended Mr. Williston's school. For a short time a noisy and merry Southern family was in the house. The man of the family had lost an arm in the war. Mrs. Tower then bought the house and she and Dr. Tower lived there for a short time before going to live in Mrs. Tower's old home on Waterhouse Street.

In 1872 Mr. and Mrs. William D. Howells rented the house and the younger daughter, Mildred, was born there. They like the house so well that they built one on the same plan on

Concord Avenue. One incident was always remembered, and that was seeing Mr. Howells send his little daughter off on a picnic, with her lunch basket, and after kissing her hearing him say, "Have a good time and don't mind triflers!" Of course they were delightful neighbors, always bubbling over with merriment and joy of life. The Howells, Gade, and Fiske children had grand times together. After the Howells left, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Scudder came to live there after the birth of their twin daughters, and one of the babies died there.

About 1878 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Jones were married and came to live there. Their stay was much saddened by sickness. Their first infant died and after the birth of their twin daughters Mrs. Jones herself died. Miss Alice Jones then came and took charge of her brother's household for a few years until they returned to their old home on Kirkland Street. Later, Andrew McFarland Davis and his family lived in the house before he built a house for himself on Appleton Street.

Mr. and Mrs. George Livermore and their three daughters must have been the next occupants of that many-times-leased house and they were there for a number of years. They then built a house on Brewster Street. In 1897 Professor Joseph D. Brannan, who had recently come from Cincinnati to teach in the Harvard Law School, bought the house and made a home there with his wife and two children. Mrs. Brannan's mother, Mrs. Gorham, also lived with them until her death. Some years later Mrs. Brannan died and in the summer of 1930 Professor Brannan followed. Quite recently Professor George La Piana has bought the house and lives there with his sister.

The next house, number 5 Berkeley Street, was built by Mr. Jonas Wyeth, 3d, as a home for the Misses Lyman, who had a school for young ladies. The long room upstairs, at the back of the house, was the schoolroom. They could not have been there long, for Mr. Wyeth himself and family were living there in 1857. There was a tragedy in the Wyeth family. Mr. Wyeth divorced his first wife and married again, but his mother, on her death bed, confessed that she had been the

cause of all the trouble and had told falsehoods about his wife. He was ultimately again united with his first wife. While living on Berkeley Street, Mr. Wyeth built another home on Raymond Street, later known as the Dresser house. There was one son, Ned Wyeth, and two daughters, Mrs. Stearns and Mrs. Bemis.

An English family, Mrs. Harmon and her daughters, were in the house for a year or two, and then in 1861 my mother, Mrs. Rufus Allyn, bought it and it remained our home until my mother's death in 1897. She was fond of Shakespeare and a fine reader. Her older daughter, Helen, married Mr. Gerhard Gade, a distinguished Norwegian, and went to live in Norway, but often spent long visits in Cambridge after her marriage, and her children were in great part educated there. One of them, Mrs. John Henshaw, still lives in Cambridge. After my mother's death the house was rented for two or three years to Mr. Amasa Eaton of Providence, and was then bought by the well-known botanist, Professor George L. Goodale. It is still the home of his widow.

Further up the street, on the same side as the Swan house but with open fields between, Dr. William Newell built a large house in 1855. He was pastor of the Unitarian Church in Harvard Square. His wife was Miss Wells, whose father had a boys' school in his large old-fashioned house on Brattle Street, now owned by Professor Merriman. The Newells had a large family of children, and added to the pastor's small salary by having young student boarders. After the Newells left the house, it became a boarding house under a Mrs. Webb. Later, Mrs. Nicolls of New York took the house and had Radcliffe students with her. She died very suddenly one summer and was succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. Weymouth. Mrs. Weymouth was a most gracious and graceful hostess. After her death Professor Arthur N. Holcombe bought the house and now owns it.

On the opposite (northerly) side of the street three other houses were built at not far from the same time by Charles

Folsom, Charles Vaughan, and Stevens Everett. Mr. Folsom's house, directly across the street from Dr. Newell's, was raised on a high bank. Mr. Folsom was a travelled scholar and a friend of Charles Follen, for whom one of his sons was named, as many others were at that time. One daughter died in her early youth. The other, Miss Mary Folsom, had for several years a school for the little girls of the neighborhood. The family had great dramatic talent, especially Dr. Norton Folsom. He amused and delighted many a Cambridge audience in the old Arsenal. Mrs. Charles Folsom and her sister, Mrs. Worcester, were typical ladies of that period, very sedate and proper, but Mrs. Folsom had rare judgment and wisdom and in those nurseless days she was always ready to answer calls in sickness or emergencies. Dr. Norton Folsom's daughter, Mrs. Enebuske and *her* daughter, Mrs. J. B. Read, Jr., are the only descendants of the family. After Dr. Folsom's death his widow lived with her sister, Mrs. Henry N. Wheeler, on Garden Street, and the house was sold to Dr. Raymond Calkins, pastor of the First Parish Church (Congregational). He adapted the house for two families and has lived for many years in the front part. The other part is now, and has been for several years, occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Shaw.

The next house towards Craigie Street was built by Charles Vaughan, and the adjoining one by his brother-in-law Stevens Everett, and the one around the corner by William Vaughan. There were no fences between these houses and the families had so intermarried that it was said the Everetts married Abbots and the children were Vaughans! The Vaughans all came from Hallowell, Maine, and of course were of English descent, as most of New England's people were at that time.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Vaughan I remember dimly as quiet, dignified people. There were three sons, very genial and friendly young men, with candy in their pockets. Dr. Charles Vaughan married Miss Wells and they lived on Garden Street. Some years after her death he married Miss Alice Carter and they removed to California. Another son, Abbot Vaughan,

married his cousin, Miss Emily Abbot, and they lived on in the old home. They had a son, Stanley, who died young, and a daughter Ethel. The Vaughans were much appreciated neighbors. It was Mr. Vaughan who rescued Berkeley Street from mud and arranged for a much-needed board walk. Mrs. Vaughan was always a friend in time of need. She died suddenly in 1899, a victim of poisoning by the nurse, Jane Tappan. Mr. Vaughan lived for several years longer, and after his death his daughter Ethel lived on in the house with her uncle, Frank Vaughan. He felt that his niece must see Europe and that he must take her. Soon after their arrival on the other side, he was taken seriously ill on the Island of Capri and died and was buried there. After her return, Miss Ethel lived till her death in the house with cousins who came to be with her. Then the house was sold to Mrs. Herbert H. Field, who is the present owner.

The Everett house on the corner is one of three houses on the street still in the family of the original owners. The other two are the houses which are spoken of hereafter, now occupied by Mrs. William R. Thayer and by Samuel and Emily Williston. Mrs. Everett was the head of a large and interesting household. With her lived her sister, Miss Anne Abbot, the salt of the earth. She started a boys' club which was the forerunner of the Cambridge Social Union. She was a little absent-minded, which was the cause of many adventures which she enjoyed to the full. Also of the family was Mrs. Everett's daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Ezra Abbot, her son William, and two motherless granddaughters and a grandson, children of General Henry L. Abbot, the distinguished engineer. Mrs. Ezra Abbot loved her wild flower garden, with its early spring flowers, which still remains. Mr. Abbot always, when walking in the street, was absorbed in a book. Those were the days of private theatricals and scenes from Dickens. The neighbors were surprised and thrilled by Mr. Ezra Abbot's clever presentation of Fagin the Jew. Mr. William Everett was very musical and Cambridge was indebted to him for

the operettas of "The Tutor" and "The Goblet of Salobrena." Mrs. Everett lived to be one hundred and five years old and Miss Abbot to be one hundred. The oldest granddaughter, Miss May Abbot, still lives on in the old house of many memories.

Looking down Berkeley Street, though standing on Craigie Street, was a large and stately mansion built in 1855 by Judge Joel Parker of the Harvard Law School. The house had a large garden with fruit trees, roses, a stable, and a grapery. He and his wife added much to the dignity and kindliness of the neighborhood. Of their three children, the oldest, Edith, died early. The second, Mrs. George Sheffield, has been known throughout Cambridge for her devotion to the Avon Home, her many deeds of charity, and her never failing thoughtfulness for her many friends. Her brother Edmund has been a successful lawyer in Boston.

The first house I saw built on Berkeley Street was erected in 1859 or 1860 for Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ware, next to the Swan house. They came to the house in the winter and as the spring came on and he dug and planted in his garden, and she sat by with her sewing, the neighbors called them Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

Mr. Ware succeeded Mr. Brown (of whom I have spoken in connection with number 1 Berkeley Street) as private secretary to Governor Andrew during the war. He then was private secretary to Governor Bullock, and afterwards secretary to the United States Senate at Washington with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was a lover and promoter of music, organist for many years at Christ Church, and assistant editor and editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music*. He was one of the three who under Mr. Dwight founded the first Symphony Orchestra in Boston, the outgrowth of the Harvard Musical Association.

Two daughters were born in the house who have married and have taken active part in the life of Cambridge. The older daughter married Mr. William Roscoe Thayer and still lives

in her old home. There he wrote his interesting histories of Italy and received therefor a decoration from the King of Italy. The younger daughter married Mr. Robert deW. Sampson and moved to Pittsfield. A few years after her husband's death she returned to Cambridge and purchased from the estate of Professor Cook the Ernest Longfellow house on Brattle Street. To her efforts is due the Salvage Shop, which is most efficiently run for the benefit of the Cambridge Visiting Nurses.

The house has been leased several times for short periods. About 1870 Mr. and Mrs. John P. Hopkinson lived there and their oldest daughter, Mrs. Samuel A. Eliot, was born there. The following year the house was occupied for a short time by Florens Schetter and his family. Mr. Schetter had the distinction of being a member, as a school boy, of the Brook Farm settlement. Much later the house was occupied for several years by Mr. and Mrs. Edward B. Drew and family. Mr. Drew had recently retired from an important office in the customs service in China. He later removed to Garden Street.

In 1865 Mr. Lyman R. Williston bought from Mr. Jonas Wyeth the land lying between my mother's land and Mr. Folsom's, and extending through to Concord Avenue. The place was bordered in front by a high hemlock hedge completely overarching the gateways, and on the sides towards the Folsom land and towards Concord Avenue there were equally high hedges.

Mr. Williston built a large house, with an ell on the side for his flourishing school for young ladies. He was much beloved and appreciated as a teacher. On account of the surrounding hedges, the school was often called the "Evergreen Nunnery." Mrs. Williston was one of the dearest and best neighbors that Berkeley Street ever enjoyed. There was a large family of children and they have all been helpful to the world, each in his or her own way. After a few years Mr. Williston passed the school over to his brother-in-law, Mr. Justin E. Gale, who

in turn was succeeded by Miss Ingols, and later by Miss Constance Williston. After giving up the school, Mr. Williston became principal of the Cambridge High School, and later, supervisor of the Boston schools, and master in the Boston Girls' Latin School. During Miss Ingols' charge of the Berkeley Street School, the ell was removed from the house and enlarged. Then, after being used as a schoolhouse for some years, it was made over into a dwelling house, which was rented for a number of years to Mr. and Mrs. J. T. G. Nichols. Now Professor Samuel Williston, of the Harvard Law School, makes his home there with his sister, Miss Emily Williston. The original house was bought after Mrs. Williston's death by Edward Houghton, of the publishing firm. He lived there for a few years when it was bought and it is now owned by Professor Frederick Keyes.

About 1880, Mr. Ernest Longfellow built a house next to the Ware house, just about where the brook ran in earlier days. The house was not occupied by him, but was rented for two years to a Mrs. Ryder, who had a son in college. She made little impression, however, on the neighborhood beyond the fact that she always slept in a hammock. Then Mrs. Freeman J. Bumstead of New York, sister of Mr. J. Gardner White, with her gracious manner and sweetness of character, came with three charming daughters and brought another atmosphere to the house and the street. They all entered into the friendly life around them and became an important part of it. There was a son but he never identified himself with Cambridge. The oldest daughter, Anne, married Dr. George P. Cogswell, and their oldest son went early as an ambulance driver across the seas to the World War. The second daughter, Miss Josephine, is known for her earnest work in the Episcopal Church, and especially in connection with the Church Conference held yearly at Wellesley. She now lives alone in the house since the sad death of her sister Ethel, who had given her whole heart to the poor and afflicted, and her warm affection and love to her friends, all of whom mourned her.

The next land to be built upon was beyond the Newell house and is now separated from it by the entrance to Berkeley Place. There Mrs. Stoughton built a spacious house for her son, John Fiske, and much of his writing was done there. The Fiskes had two daughters and four sons. Much later Mrs. Stoughton built the house on Brattle Street now owned by Mrs. Hurlbut and the Fiskes moved there, but Mr. Fiske did not long survive the removal. He died suddenly as he was about to go over to Winchester, England, to deliver an address. The house on Berkeley Street, after remaining unoccupied for some years, was bought by Professor Eugene Wambaugh of the Harvard Law School. He was called to Washington by President Wilson before our entry into the World War, and remained in service there as a colonel throughout our participation in the war. His daughter Sarah has been prominent through her interest in the League of Nations, and her authorship of a work on plebiscites. His son Miles is a Boston lawyer, starting married life in Hingham.

About 1885 my brother, Mr. John Allyn, of the publishing firm of Allyn & Bacon, built a house on the land adjoining his mother's house and came from Watertown with his wife and five children. He was a Shakespearean scholar and an appreciated member of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Association. Since his death his widow and daughter Dorothea still live in the house.

In 1899, Miss Bertha M. Howland bought from Mrs. Williston land adjoining Mrs. Allyn's and built an attractive two apartment house. She, with a friend, formed a firm of interior decorators, in which they showed much taste and ability. She lived in one apartment. Mrs. George Fuller, widow of the artist, lived in the other for a number of years. Afterwards Professor and Mrs. Davis R. Dewey occupied one of the apartments. Miss Howland was genial and cordial in her manners and her friends were extremely fond of her. She managed the Berkeley Book Club with tact and ability. Her sudden death in the summer of 1930 was a great shock and grief to her friends.

The house then was bought by Frederic S. Dietrich, a Boston lawyer and former Congressman from this district, who now lives there with his family.

On the last lot of original farm land Professor and Mrs. George Howard Parker built their handsome stuccoed house in 1906. Mrs. Bemis had held the lot as a cow pasture as long as possible. Professor Parker is a noted biologist and Mrs. Parker has been an active worker in the League of Women Voters and is known for her devotion to her garden and its successful results.

This is the tale of Berkeley Street, and it leaves a trail of sadness at the thought of the many changes that have come with the passing of years — but that is life!

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, 1859–1931

BY WALTER B. BRIGGS

Read April 28, 1931

IN the death, on March 18, 1931, of William Coolidge Lane, the Cambridge Historical Society loses another of its charter members. Of the fifty persons who petitioned the legislature for the charter in June, 1905, not more than ten are now living. For these twenty-five years the Society has had the benefit of Mr. Lane's services: a member of the Council for the entire period; Chairman of its Publishing Committee; and Vice-President. Although he read before the Society a number of papers, he will be chiefly missed as a member of the Council and as a continuous and intelligent supporter of all the interests of the Society.

Mr. Lane was born in Newtonville, Massachusetts, July 29, 1859, the son of William Homer and Caroline Matilda (Coolidge) Lane. He prepared for college at the Newton High School, entering Harvard in July 1877. In his sophomore year he received highest honors in Classics; at graduation he delivered an oration on "The Relation Between Greek and Modern Life," and received honorable mention in Natural History. He was one of the twenty-five members of his class elected to the Phi Beta Kappa. He also had a command of the German, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

Joining the staff of the Harvard Library on the day after his graduation, for some forty-two years he gave it his best service, at first in the Ordering Department, then for ten years as head of the Cataloguing Department, and for thirty years as Librarian. From 1893 to 1898 he was librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, returning to Harvard to succeed Justin Winsor. He saw the collection of the Library increase from 269,000 volumes and 222,000 pamphlets in 1893 to over 1,379,000

books and pamphlets in 1928. He had much to do in directing the lines of this increase, and especially in making the great collection available through intelligent classification and cataloguing. Handicapped for years with an overcrowded building, he had the satisfaction of assisting in the planning of the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library building, embodying important new features. The private studies for professors and the stalls or cubicles for graduate students, having for their purpose the readiest access to the books compatible with their control, have been so highly approved as to become a standard equipment in later library buildings. His services to the University and to scholarship were summed up by President Lowell in 1928, when in conferring an honorary degree upon him he said, "Librarian of Harvard for thirty years, to whom scholars are grateful for the accessibility of its vast collection."

From 1887 to 1891, Mr. Lane was a lecturer at the Library School of Columbia University and later at Albany. In the summer of 1929 he gave a course of lectures at the University of Michigan. In 1910, he offered, under the auspices of the Department of Fine Arts of Harvard, a course on the history of the printed book.

He was president of the American Library Association for the year 1898–99, after serving as secretary and treasurer for fourteen years and for several years as chairman of its publishing board. He had also been president of the American Bibliographical Society. He was the chief editor of the *A. L. A. Portrait Index*, published by the Library of Congress in 1906. From their beginning, some twenty-five years ago, the annual meetings of the New England College Librarians were guided by Mr. Lane and by Mr. Louis N. Wilson of Clark University.

Although giving his time and strength chiefly to the interests of the Harvard Library and allied interests in the library profession, Mr. Lane had keen interest in and made definite contributions to other fields. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the

Cambridge Historical Society, the Harvard Memorial Society, and an honorary member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. For many years he was librarian of the Dante Society and up to the last was president of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Association. He was a charter member of the Massachusetts Library Club, and its president for the term 1891–92.

In 1889 Mr. Lane was elected secretary of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, and continued in office for thirty years. During this period he assembled at the college library what is believed to be the largest group of Phi Beta Kappa publications extant. In 1912 he edited the twenty-first Catalogue of the Harvard Chapter, the first having been issued in 1806. This is more than an ordinary catalogue, for it contains nearly one hundred pages of historical material under the heading, "Records, Documents, and Memoranda," in which important excerpts from the chapter records, and numerous letters and diaries are printed in chronological order, thus forming one of the most important source books of early Phi Beta Kappa history in existence.

In 1916 he was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate, and served during the ensuing term.

He gave much time to work on committees, where his education, experience, and temper made his counsel of special value. One instance of his leadership is related by Mr. R. R. Bowker who, writing in 1929, pays him the following high tribute: "The best service for the library profession in which I have participated since the organization of the American Library Association was when associated with Librarian Lane of Harvard in the conference with President McKinley which resulted in Herbert Putnam's appointment as Librarian of Congress in 1899. To the energy, firmness, and tact of William Coolidge Lane, President of the American Library Association for the year 1898–99, is largely due the benefit of that selection."

Mr. Lane was married at Andover, Massachusetts, May 12,

1903, to Bertha, daughter of Jacob Peabody and Annie (Kimball) Palmer of New York, formerly of Brookline.

His influence upon colleagues, and in particular upon his juniors in the library field, has been deep and lasting.

PRESCOTT EVARTS

BY JOSEPH H. BEALE

Read April 28, 1931

PRESCOTT EVARTS was born October 10, 1859, the son of a line of clergymen and lawyers. His father was William Maxwell Evarts, a leader of the American Bar, Attorney General and Secretary of State of the United States, and Senator from New York. The Evartses were a Yale family, but Prescott showed his independence of character by graduating at Harvard in the year 1881. On graduation he entered the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City, and on finishing his theological studies, after an apprenticeship in a large New York parish, he went to the small industrial town of Wappingers Falls, where he remained until he came to Cambridge in 1901.

In 1900 he was invited to become rector of Christ Church and accepted. We who called him felt sure that his plainness of speech and his unbending moral fibre would in the long run be liked by the men of his congregation, though we doubted its effect on the women. He came, and at once it appeared that these characteristics meant a zeal for truth and a sincerity which won our respect, and soon our love. A parish which through its history had been coldly conservative came to life with him. We gladly followed where he led.

He was not a great preacher, but one cannot exaggerate his excellence as a pastor. He was guide, philosopher, and friend to every one of his people. No sick persons in his parish but received a visit, no person in any need but was helped, no one in sorrow but received consolation. His lovable qualities were known far outside his own parish and his own communion. His work among the poor, both at the City Home and outside it, won him the love of Catholic and Protestant alike.

He retired in 1929 at the age of seventy, not because his people wished it, but because he himself thought it best. Having characteristically made up his own mind, no entreaty could move him, though the older members of his congregation, realizing that an era was passing with his going, begged him to delay his resignation for a year or two. Retirement with him did not mean idleness. No man was ever a more untiring worker, and he kept it up until the last. During the last few months of his life he was the Massachusetts director of a campaign to raise an endowment fund for the General Theological Seminary. He died in harness.

Few men so modest and unassuming had been so broadly loved. At his funeral all sorts and conditions of men showed their sorrow at his death. He has left many of us the poorer for his loss, as we were the richer for our acquaintance with him.

Prescott Evarts joined the Cambridge Historical Society in 1905 and had been a member of its Council since 1927. His attendance was constant, his advice sagacious, and he was devoted to its affairs. His chief contribution to the history of Cambridge was in connection with his own parish and church building. He built up an historical museum in Christ Church which is a worthy monument to him. It is especially rich in portraits and letters.

THE VASSALL HOUSE

BY MARY I. GOZZALDI, ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, and DAVID T. POTTINGER

Read April 28, 1931

I

THERE was a time just three hundred years ago when Winthrop's companions saw the budding trees and strange flowers; and rejoiced, after their hard winter at Charlestown, to hear the birds sing and watch them build their nests. It was their first experience of a New England spring. Governor Thomas Dudley was building his handsome house at the foot of Water (now Dunster) Street and laying out Newe Towne, which he fondly hoped would be the capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

This part of the town was called the West End, and the road running by this house, part of the old trail from Charlestown, was named on old deeds "the Highway to Watertown." Two acres of the land where we now are were allotted to John Prince but he decided to settle in Hull. A few years later we find three half-acre homesteads between the present Ash and Hawthorn Streets. Three houses stood on them as they do today.

The house on the corner of the Highway and Windmill Lane, as Ash Street was then called, was built by William Wilcox; next west was that of Robert Parker, the butcher who sent his son to Harvard College[1] and paid for his tuition with a cow; next came this house, built by William Adams. Of the original house probably all that remains is the eight-foot-square stack chimney, its bricks laid with pounded oyster shells,

[1] Class of 1661.

which the early settlers used before they had lime. This stands between the dining room and kitchen.[1]

Where and when William Adams landed in the colony, I do not know. He was probably living here with his wife and four-year-old son Thomas when his elder boy, a lad of fifteen, sailed from London on the *Elizabeth and Ann*, May 6, 1635, and joined his family here.

Around the corner on Windmill Lane was the house of John Masters, who built the canal to Brattle Square so that sailing vessels from England could come right up into the town. His seven acres formed the southern boundary of these homesteads. William Adams also owned nine acres of planting ground at Fresh Pond.

There had been many changes in the Newe Towne. The Braintree Company had come and bought their houses and built more. Harvard College had been founded, and the name of the town changed to Cambridge. Governor Dudley had removed to Ipswich when William Adams was made a freeman on May 22, 1639. In 1641 he followed the Governor to Ipswich and in the part now called Hamilton built a house which is still standing and was owned and lived in by his descendant Silsbee Adams almost at the end of the nineteenth century. William Adams probably came from Earls Colne, County Essex, England. He is supposed to have been a relative of Henry Adams of Quincy, the ancestor of the Presidents; for when one of his sons went to England, he carried a power of attorney from Henry Adams entitling him to receive his rentals in the old country. Exactly two hundred years after he left this house a descendant, Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, came here to be mistress of it.

The leaves are just turning red in the swamps, for it is October 1, 1639. William Adams is still living in this house. There is to be a wedding on Bow Street to which he and his

[1] When repairs were made in 1842, part of the south wall of the kitchen was exposed. It was covered with weatherboarding, without shingles or clapboards, proving that this was once an outside wall. The original house probably consisted of these two rooms.

family and the other freemen of Cambridge are doubtless invited. It is in the homestead of the Danforths. Nicholas Danforth, of Framlingham, England, had come here in the *Griffin* in 1634 with his seven motherless children, his wife having died in 1629. He was a man of prominence in the old country. Mather in the *Magnalia* calls him "a gentleman of such estate and repute in the world that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood which King Charles I imposed on all of so much per annum; and of such figure and esteem in the church that he procured that famous lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine mannour; which lecture was kept by Mr. Burroughs and many other noted ministers in their times." The family had lived in Framlingham since 1512. Nicholas was "Court Baron" as one of the Borough Leet Jury in 1629, and was warden of the parish. He at once became a noted man in his new home. He was elected selectman in 1635 and the two following years, and he represented the town in the General Court in 1636 and 1637. He was on the committee to build the Great Bridge, to lay out the Concord "plataxon," and also the boundaries of Dedham, Roxbury, and Dorchester. He was one of the eleven men chosen by the legislature to sell wine and strong water. He was already nearly fifty years old when he came here, and his life in Cambridge was short as he died in April, 1638.

Now the year and a half of mourning is past and the eldest of his children, Elizabeth Danforth, is twenty years old and it is her wedding day. Her sisters Mary and Anna must take over the charge of the house and the younger children. Thomas, the eldest son, a lad of sixteen, must do the honors to the wedding guests. He became one of the most prominent men of the colony, holding every possible office, including that of Judge, Treasurer of Harvard College, and Deputy-Governor. It would take all evening to tell of his life. His home was on the corner of the present Kirkland and Oxford Streets. The estate was bounded by Charlestown and it took in the delta and the college yard as far as the present library. He had

other holdings, among them nearly ten thousand acres at Framingham.

Rev. Thomas Shepard, the beloved minister, must have been present, since he was an intimate friend of the family. Father Danforth before his death had committed his twelve-year-old son, Samuel, to his care.

The bridegroom is Andrew Belcher, who is described as mariner, vintner, painter, and trader. He is settled at Sudbury, and there the young people go to live. His father was Thomas, of London, his grandfather Robert, of Kingswood, Wiltshire. Their eldest child, Elizabeth, was born in Sudbury August 17, 1640. The second, Jemima, who married Captain Gill, was born in Cambridge, perhaps in the old home on Bow Street. Martha was born in Sudbury July 25, 1644. Two years later Andrew Belcher sold his property in Sudbury, reserving the right to his newly built house until May, and they came to Cambridge with the three little girls aged six, four, and two years old.

After living seven years in Sudbury, Elizabeth Belcher returned to Cambridge, where she lived the rest of her life. I do not find any trace of where they dwelt at first, but think it probable it was in the old Danforth house on Bow Street. Anna Danforth had married Matthew Bridge and had gone to live in the house opposite this, where St. John's Chapel stands, Samuel had graduated at Harvard and was a tutor there, Mary may have already married Dr. Thomas Parrish and gone to live in Ipswich, Lydia may have married William Beaman and was living in Saybrook, Connecticut. Only little Jonathan would be in the old home. On January 1, 1647, Elizabeth Danforth Belcher's only son was born and was named Andrew for his father. In 1652 the old Danforth homestead was sold.

Probably about that time Andrew Belcher built the house on the present Boylston Street which he called the Blue Anchor Tavern and where on June 1, 1654 he was licensed to sell liquor. Here Elizabeth Danforth Belcher was leading the life

she had led in her father's house. I have dwelt so long on her because her children and grandchildren lived in this house for forty-six years and she must have often been here. Andrew Belcher, Sr. died in 1673 and the following year she took the license and carried on the inn until her death in 1680. She was buried in the Burial Place in Garden Street, where her headstone may be seen. The host of the principal inn was a person of importance; the first inn keeper in Cambridge, Thomas Chesholme, was deacon of the church. Andrew Belcher, Jr. inherited the Blue Anchor Tavern, but inn keeping was not to his taste. His elder sister Martha had married Jonathan Remington and lived in this house. Miss Dana will tell you about him as he was her ancestor. Two years after his mother's death Andrew Belcher exchanged the inn for this house.

But I am getting ahead of my story. When William Adams went to Ipswich, his house went into the hands of the real estate dealer of the time, Nathaniel Sparhawk, and in the Register's Book the entry under September 24, 1641, reads that he sold it to Roger Bancroft, who in 1646 added four acres of land which he bought of Thomas Crosby, who had purchased the house and land of John Masters from Cary Lathum, Masters' son-in-law, thus bringing this place up to the land of Deacon John Bridge on the west. Deacon Bridge lived in a house just west of the Craigie House, which was probably pulled down when that house was built. He owned much land on both sides of the highway. His son Matthew Bridge lived in the house that stood on the site of St. John's Chapel, as I have mentioned.

Roger Bancroft probably had no children; he lived here with his wife, who must have been an attractive woman as he was the first of her four husbands. We do not know much about the twelve years Roger and Elizabeth lived here, but we get a glimpse of their social life from the will of their neighbor William Wilcox who, after leaving his property to his wife as long as she remained unmarried, which by the way was less

than two years, gave twenty shillings apiece to five men whom he calls "my loving brethren which were of my family meeting." Roger Bancroft is the first one mentioned; another is John Hastings, who lived on the highway at the east corner of Windmill Lane. Roger Bancroft never received this legacy; for on the same day, November 28, 1653, he and William Wilcox both died.

Mrs. Roger Bancroft married Martin Saunders, his second wife, and went to live in Braintree. Five years later she was again a widow and, returning to Cambridge, married her old neighbor Deacon John Bridge and lived with him until his death in 1665 in the house before mentioned on the Longfellow estate. Meanwhile Thomas Marrett became the owner of this house. I cannot find that he ever lived in it. Dying in 1664, he bequeathed it to his son John, who had succeeded Deacon Bridge as occupant of his house. Of course he did not need this house and so the next year he sold it to Jonathan Remington, who had married Martha, the second daughter of Andrew and Elizabeth Belcher. Her older sister, Elizabeth, had married Pyam Blowers and had taken the house that stood on the site of the present St. John's Chapel, which had been the home of her aunt Anna and her husband Matthew Bridge, son of Deacon Bridge.

II

[Miss Elizabeth Ellery Dana, a descendant of Jonathan Remington, then took up the story of this house.]

Jonathan was son of the earliest Remington settler, John, who was of Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1637, but removed to Rowley from there. In 1645 he joined Simon Bradstreet, Denison, and others in a military company of Rowley and confirmed as such. John's children, except the first two, were born in Rowley. His wife, Elizabeth, died there and was buried on the twenty-fourth of the tenth month, 1657.[1] John removed

[1] Paige's *History of Cambridge* gives the date wrong, as the twenty-fourth of October, 1658. The tenth month was December, and the Rowley records and Essex Institute Collections give the date as December 24, 1657.

to Roxbury, where he had charge, in 1658, of repairing and altering the meetinghouse.[1] Part of his estate was called Remington's Paradise. He there married Rhoda, widow of John Gore. Remington died, or was buried, June 8, 1667. His widow outlived him some years, and married again.

Their son Jonathan was born in Rowley on February 12, 1639–40, served in the Indian Wars, and was corporal in King Philip's War. In Cambridge, he was tithing man, selectman, town clerk, and treasurer. He married Martha Belcher, daughter of Andrew Belcher, Sr., on July 13, 1662, and in 1665 he bought this house from John Marrett and lived here till 1682. Most of his nine children were born there. He sold it to his wife's brother, Andrew Belcher, and bought of him the Blue Anchor Tavern. The printed town records of Cambridge have many references to his affairs (always calling him Lieutenant), his fencing, the "stuffe" for his garden, the posts and rails for his out-fence, and his felling trees to make groundsills to his barn. A photostat of his appointments of tithing men shows his handwriting as much clearer and handsomer than that of the other town clerks. He was one of the assessors to join with the selectmen to make the rate of the minister's salary. In 1695, he was one of three to oversee the bridge over the Charles River and look to the preservation of it, and "to prosecute an orderly issue between the town and Cambridge Village," as Newton was then called. In 1696, May 13, in general town meeting it was voted that the Great Bridge should be repaired, and he was chosen as one of the two overseers.

After buying the Blue Anchor Tavern, he was its host for several years. He died April 21, 1700. His son Jonathan Remington, Jr., who was Judge of the Supreme Court and a noted man, married Lucy Bradstreet, a descendant of Governor Bradstreet and Anne Dudley. Their daughter, Anne Remington, married William Ellery of Newport, Rhode Island, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and had five

[1] Drake's *History of the Town of Roxbury*.

interesting children. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Judge Francis Dana; the next daughter, Lucy, married William Channing, and had many distinguished descendants. Elizabeth, daughter of Anne's son, William Ellery, Jr., married Robert Sedgwick, and their daughter Elizabeth Sedgwick married Professor Francis James Child.

Francis Dana was our first ambassador to Russia, taking young John Quincy Adams, afterward President, with him as secretary. Francis Dana, when in Congress, had a most interesting experience at Valley Forge with Washington. Afterward he was for many years Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

After the death of Francis Dana, his daughter Elizabeth Ellery Dana, for whom I was named, and her sister Sarah Anne Dana became engaged to George and James Foster, sons of Bossinger Foster, who were at that time living in the Vassall house. Then the Foster family having left Cambridge, George Foster, whose marriage to Elizabeth was to take place in a week, came to visit the Danas and their elder sister, Martha Remington Dana and brother Edmund Dana, who were living in the Trowbridge house on Mt. Auburn Street. George was taken ill there of a Cambridge epidemic and his brother James Foster, coming to take care of him, was also taken ill and both died in the house. This was in August and September of 1817. Elizabeth and Sarah always wore mourning for them, and never married.

Sarah's middle name of Anne was for her grandmother Anne Remington, Mrs. Ellery, whose gravestone, with its praise of her character, can still be seen in the old Garden Street burial ground. In 1830 Sarah gave her own shares of the land of the Trowbridge house to the Congregational Church, and upon it was at once erected the first building of the Shepard Memorial Church. Their brother, Richard Henry Dana, Sr., was my grandfather. He and his wife Charlotte had four children, all born in Cambridge, and the youngest, little Susan, was born in the Vassall house, for here they lived 1818–1821. They next moved to the Wigglesworth house on the College grounds, next

door to the old President's House. There on the death of his wife in 1822 his three sisters came to live with him and take care of the children. One day, only two months after her death, when Martha was holding little Susan in her arms, the child gave a sudden leap, fell and, striking her head on the floor, died at once. It was long before Martha could recover from the thought that she had perhaps not held her carefully enough.

Dr. Thomas Foster, brother of James and George, built the house on Quincy Street where Professor George H. Palmer now lives. It is often spoken of as the Dana house, but that is a mistake. The Danas simply resided there a few years, renting it from Foster. While living there, Martha Remington Dana married Washington Allston, the artist, who built a house in Mt. Auburn Street and on its lawn his interesting studio.

The head of this line of Danas was Daniel, youngest son of Richard, the first Dana to settle in Cambridge. The well-preserved gravestones of this Daniel Dana and his wife Naomi are in the old Garden Street burial ground, at the back.

III

[Mrs. Gozzaldi then resumed her account.]

We must return now to the story of this house. As I said, inn keeping was not to the taste of Andrew Belcher the younger. In his youth he was a seafaring man. In December, 1676 he commanded the vessel which so opportunely arrived at Smith's Garrison, bringing provisions, the evening after the sanguinary Narragansett Battle. He was a prosperous merchant and lived in Charlestown, Hartford, and Boston. July 11, 1670 he married Sarah, daughter of Jonathan Gilbert of Hartford, and inherited the large estate of his father-in-law at Meriden, Connecticut.

When Andrew Belcher came to this house in 1682, probably his eldest child, Andrew 3d, born ten years before, had died and his family consisted of his wife, his daughter Elizabeth,

who was four years old, Mary two, and Jonathan who was born January 8, 1682, either in this house or just before they moved in.

Andrew Belcher owned this house for thirty-five years but it is uncertain how many he lived in it. He had houses in Boston and Charlestown. At the latter place four daughters were born between 1684 and 1689. On January 26, 1689 Mrs. Belcher died there, the youngest child, Deborah, being only twenty-three days old; she left six daughters and one son.

I feel that their aunt Anna, Mrs. Pyam Blowers, living opposite, and their aunt Martha, Mrs. Jonathan Remington, living at the Blue Anchor Tavern, must have helped to bring up this motherless family. They both had young children of their own. Martha Remington and Elizabeth Blowers were the eldest of this group of little cousins; they were respectively fifteen and fourteen. Jonathan Remington and Thomas Blowers were twelve, Elizabeth Belcher eleven, John Blowers and Mary Belcher nearly nine, Anna Remington eight, and Jonathan Belcher seven, when Mrs. Belcher died. The boys probably attended the Faire Grammar School on Holyoke Street, of which John Hancock was the Master. He was later the noted minister at Lexington, called affectionately Bishop Hancock. Jonathan Remington and Jonathan Belcher were playmates and fast friends all their lives in spite of the four years' difference in their ages. They lie together in the same tomb in the Garden Street Burial Ground.

Andrew Belcher was one of the most enterprising and wealthy merchants in the province; he owned wharves and storehouses, and no doubt the family lived in the luxury of the time. He also held public offices; in 1689 he was one of the Committee of Public Safety and was associated with Major John Pynchon and Major Thomas Savage in negotiating a treaty with the Mohawk Indians. He was Commissioner of Imports, Commissary-General, and a member of the Council from 1702 until his death. He married a second wife named Hannah, probably in his old age.

It was a lively set of children who grew up in the house. Let us look in on them in the year 1696. Jonathan Remington, Jr., is a senior at Harvard, Jonathan Belcher a freshman. In those days students' names were placed on the catalogue in the order of their rank; sometimes the officials spent weeks in considering who should come first, the son of a minister or of one who held public office. The name of George Vaughan headed the list this year. He was doubtless often in this house, making love to Mary Belcher, the second daughter, whom he soon married. She died in 1700, only twenty years old.

Thomas Blowers had graduated at Harvard the year before and he was getting ready to be a minister. We can easily imagine what a gay time these young people had with their friends. Elizabeth, the eldest of the Belchers, was married on September 26 of this year to Daniel Oliver. She became the mother of three sons who graduated at Harvard: Daniel (H. C. 1722) who was a merchant in England and died there; Andrew (H. C. 1724), Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, who was hung in effigy and his furniture destroyed in 1765; and Peter, the last Chief Justice under the crown, who graduated in 1730.

After Jonathan Belcher graduated, he was sent to England to finish his education and he travelled extensively on the Continent for several years. It would be interesting to have his letters written home during these years, but the only printed letters of his that I know of were dated not earlier than 1731. When he returned to this country, he became associated in business with his father.

His twenty-third birthday was the date fixed for his wedding. He was to marry Mary, daughter of William Partridge, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, and sister of Richard Partridge, agent for New Hampshire in England. In the depths of winter he started off on horseback accompanied by friends. On January 4, he was met by several gentlemen at Hampton and was accompanied by the whole party to Portsmouth. They arrived the same night, and on motion of the gentlemen

that accompanied him the marriage took place that same Friday night as he came off the journey in his boots. The wedding was celebrated with great ceremony at Boston on Tuesday following, the eighth, when there was a noble and splendid entertainment for the guests. It was honored by the discharge of the great guns of the fort; several great guns were discharged at his father's, Captain Andrew Belcher's, "Wharffe" and aboard several ships at Boston. Under date of January 23 Sewall writes in his journal, "Mr. Jonathan Belcher and his bride dine at Lieutenant Governor Usher's. Came to town about six o'clock — about twenty horsemen, three coaches and slays."

Jonathan Belcher was a member of the Council from 1717 to 1723 and again in 1726 and 1727. He was elected in 1729, but was negatived by Governor Burnett. He then sailed for England. Soon after his arrival there, news was received of the death of Governor Burnett. Belcher had ingratiated himself with the crown and government, was knighted, and was appointed Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire on November 27, 1729. He held office until Shirley was appointed in 1741. His letters during this time give a picture of his trying experiences in this office. On his appointment in England, Dr. Isaac Watts addressed an adulatory poem to him, some lines of which are said to have been so extravagant as to border on impiety. On his arrival in Boston, he was hailed with the greatest joy. All the dignitaries of the town went to escort him from the ship; the military were out in full force; cannon were fired; the turrets and balconies of the houses were covered with flags and carpets; and the shipping in the harbor displayed all their colors.

Andrew Belcher did not live to see this, but he knew of the beginning of his son's political career. He had died on October 31, 1717. His funeral was the occasion of great display. Rev. John Cotton, in a letter dated November 7, 1717, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, describes it as follows: "All the ministers there had scarves and gloves. They say that

fifty suits of clothes were made. All first cousins Remingtons, Blowers &c. put into mourning. John Colman, Caswell &c. All that were apprenticed to him were also; 90 dozen of gloves were bought and none of any figure but what had gloves." He was buried in the Garden Street Burial Ground, where his parents lay.

Governor Belcher had four sons and one daughter. The first three children were born in Boston: Andrew in 1707; Sarah, who married Byfield Lyde, in 1709; Jonathan, Jr., in 1710. William and Thomas may have been born in this house; probably they died young.

John Frizell with his wife Jane lived on Fleet Street, Boston, then called Frizell Lane. They were persons of wealth and importance and no doubt friends of Governor Belcher. They wanted to come to Cambridge, for their son John Frizell, Jr. was fitting for Harvard. They were the next owners of this house, buying it from Jonathan Belcher in 1719. The next year their son entered college in the same class with Andrew Belcher. The names in the Harvard catalogue read thus: Adam Winthrop, Andrew Belcher, then his own cousin, Andrew Oliver, Israel Chauncy, Henry Phillips, and John Frizell. We now see another generation of young people enjoying themselves in these rooms.

John Frizell graduated in 1724, and on September 1, 1729 married Mercy Bronsdon who was born September 15, 1708, daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Bant) Bronsdon of Boston. The widow of the elder John Frizell went to live in Weybridge, Surrey, England, and this house was the property of the young couple. They had only two years of life here together as John Frizell, Jr., died in 1731. Left a widow at twenty-three, Mercy Frizell sold this house to John Vassall. After providing for his wife, John Frizell left £250 to Harvard College and £100 to the poor of Boston. Six years later his widow married Joseph Wise, Jr., merchant, who lived only a few years. Her third husband was William Stoddart, Esq., Justice of the Peace. He had charge of Benjamin Bronsdon's estate and died in

1775. Mercy continued to live in the old Frizell mansion, next to the Second Church on Fleet Street, until 1782, when she sold it to Caleb Loring, distiller, and went to live in another house on the estate. In 1783 she brought a suit against the Frizell family for property of John Frizell, Jr., and obtained judgment of £15,000. She died in 1786, aged 78.[1]

Although the story of the thirty-seven years of the ownership of the house by the Belchers and the more than half a century occupation of it by the children of Elizabeth Danforth Belcher has been told, I can not resist the temptation to carry on their history farther.

There is no doubt that while the Frizells and the John Vassalls lived here, Governor Belcher and his family were frequent visitors in this house, as they were of the same political party. Mrs. Belcher did not live long to enjoy the honors of the wife of the Governor, for she died October 6, 1736, and was buried with as much pomp as her father-in-law had been.

Andrew Belcher, his elder son, was a disappointment to the Governor. He did not marry young, and the only office he seems to have held was that of member of the Council and Register of the Court of Admiralty.

Jonathan, who graduated in 1728, was the favorite son. His commonplace-book when he was a freshman is in the Harvard College Library. He spent seven years at the college and then his father decided to send him to England, to finish his education. We gather from his father's letters to his uncle Richard Partridge and others how Jonathan, Jr. spent his time there. In 1731 he had chambers in Temple Inn reading law. In 1733 he took the degree of M.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge. The Governor was anxious to make a country gentleman and member of Parliament of him. Large sums of money were expended to buy an estate when he was running as member from Tamworth. The chief industry there was the manufac-

[1] The reason why I have traced the story of the Frizells after leaving this house is that in *The Cambridge of 1776* there are printed statements about the Widow Frizell which I believe to be erroneous. The above facts are taken from the Bronsdon Genealogy.

ture of woolen goods, and the Governor got his Boston friends, among them Vassall, to send in orders for them, but at the election he was defeated. The father wrote letters and sent presents in his ships to noted men, to the Lord of the Treasury, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To Sir Robert Walpole he wrote as follows:

"I hope that your Honour will pardon my presuming by this to bring into your presence and knowledge my son who spent his last seven years at our little University, and is now in the Temple in the study of law and as he is joint agent with my brother Partridge for my affairs in Great Britain I hope you will allow him to pay his duty to you as any of his Majesty's affairs under my government may require it."

To Mr. Samuel Holden he writes: "I own, Sir, with the greatest gratitude the honour you did my son at your fine house at Theobalds, and for the kind and favorable mention you make of him. He does indeed tell loudly and largely to one of Governor Holden's respect and friendship. How grateful must this feel to a fond father, that a gent'm of your figure, honour and estate should condescend to regard a youth in a manner a perfect stranger to you. It is impossible for me, Sir, to express the deep obligation you have laid me under in this trend. The hopes I would conceive of my son are from the good principles and resolution of virtue and diligence with which he went hence. I pray God he may hold fast his integrity and that by divine grace he may be kept from the lures and snares of this wicked world and from the peculiar temptations of the place where he is now fixt for the study of the law and that God would succeed him in his studies and make him useful in his day and generation. As this youth is at a great distance from his father, let me still beg your smiles and countenance toward him as often as he has opportunity to pay his duty to you."

Governor Belcher hoped that Jonathan would marry one of the Miss Holdens, but he preferred a lady who held an appointment at Court. His father wrote to his correspondents enquir-

ing what were the tastes of this "Court lady," as he called her. Did she like to go to the theatre, etc.? This affair was not successful. Among the gifts which his father sent to him in England was sixty pounds of green candles made from bayberries, which he suggested might be given to the Lord Chief Justice or the Lord Chancellor. There was also a table made of the knots of the black ash, which might go to the Duke of Newcastle or Lord Wellington. Jonathan, Jr., although admitted to the Bar in London, returned to this country and became Chief Justice of Nova Scotia three years before his father died. Later he was made Lieutenant-Governor of that Province, where his memory is still held in honor. He married Abigail Allen April 8, 1756. He died March 26, 1776.

In 1745 Sir Jonathan Belcher went again to England and, ingratiating himself with the king and government, received the appointment of Governor of New Jersey, a more tranquil place than New England, he thought. He was then fifty-four years old; his wife had been dead ten years. On September 9, 1748 he married Mary Louisa Emilia Teele, of Burlington, New Jersey.

In a letter written from Elizabethtown on April 5, 1754 to his nephew Andrew Oliver, he says, "I am now with pleasure to advise you that my son Andrew's marriage with my wife's very good daughter (Elizabeth Teele) was consummated yesterday in the evening about 8 o'clock and I think to the good satisfaction of all conserned therein, and I pray God that they may be long happy, living together as heirs of the grace of life. Amen."

In 1745 Governor Belcher had the great sorrow of losing his dear cousin and playmate, Jonathan Remington, who was born in this house. He caused a tomb to be built for him in the Burial Ground on Garden Street, Cambridge, and when he died at Elizabethtown August 31, 1757 he left directions that he should be buried beside him. Governor Belcher was much interested in the founding of the College of New Jersey, later called Princeton College. To it he left his library of four hun-

dred books. The first building was to have been named for him, Belcher Hall, but he refused the honor and suggested the name of Nassau Hall. At his funeral, September 4, 1757, Andrew Burr, President of the College, preached the sermon.

IV

[The story of the house was then taken up by Mr. David T. Pottinger.]

Forty-five years, the length of time the Vassall family owned this house, is a short period in its total age. The fact, therefore, that it still is identified by their name goes to show how deep an impression they made on its history. They did so for two reasons: first, because life within these walls during their occupancy was unusually gay and cosmopolitan, a brilliant tropical shrub flourishing on the outskirts of the sombre Puritan "village" and college; and secondly, because when it was over, when the modern visitor relates its tragic end, he feels that he is with Richard sitting upon the ground and telling sad stories of the death of kings. For five years Colonel John Vassall, Sr., lived here; for twenty-seven, his brother Henry; for scarcely seven more, Henry's widow Penelope. Then, even during the latter's lifetime, it became the medical headquarters for the Continental Army, a barracks for some of the Convention troops, a battered relic sold successively to John Pitts, to Nathaniel Tracy, and to Andrew Craigie. For the moment let us forget the tragedy and gaze with unprophetic eye upon the vivid, colorful days the old house itself witnessed in the middle span of the eighteenth century.

Arriving in Cambridge from his ancestral plantation in the West Indies, where he was born in 1713, John Vassall graduated from Harvard at the age of nineteen; married Elizabeth, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips, on October 10, 1734; and in 1736 settled down in this house — or rather the older part of it, for it has had many later additions. He bought it from the widow of John Frizell for £1,000, the purchase including some seven acres of ground as well.

We can see this young aristocrat of twenty-three literally in his habit, as he lived, from an inventory of his wardrobe which is still to be found in the Middlesex Registry of Probate. Among the articles are "watch, sword, and arms, a velvet coat laced, an embroidered jacket, silk breeches, a blue velvet coat with gold lace, a camblet coat, a flowered silk coat and breeches, a paduasoy waistcoat and breeches, scarlet breeches, a scarlet coat, a fustian coat, a cloth coat, an old waistcoat, a pair of new cloth breeches, a banyan, an old greatcoat, eighteen pairs of white ribbed stockings, one pair of worsted do., a pair of boots, a pair of spurs, a trooping saddle, one laced hat, one plain do., a pair of pocket pistols, holsters, and caps, saddlegirth, brass stirrups, a silver hilted sword, a gun, riding pistols, a silver watch, an old green coat, a black velvet jacket, a book-case." It must be admitted that these eleven coats, five breeches, nineteen pairs of stockings, and two watches — to say nothing of the swords and pistols, the books and the bookcase — indicate clearly enough that John was a gay young blade, free with his money and aware of his social position.

It is not strange that such a man caught public attention, nor that we find him made a Selectman of the town and a Representative to the Great and General Court. Cambridge politics, it seems, had in 1739 some unpleasant resemblances to the Cambridge of 1931. There is a suspiciously modern ring to Deputy Sheriff Samuel Whittemore's comment upon Vassall's election as Selectman: "He is no more fit," said Whittemore, "to be Selectman than my horse is." Unfortunately Vassall had not learned to discount the value of purely political criticism, and so he sued the Sheriff for defamation of character. He lost his suit; and, worse still, fell so much in popular regard that he was not re-elected to public office for several years.

No doubt Mr. Vassall's political and legal activity added to the bustle of life in the house. Conferences with other public men, breakfast-table conversations about the prospects for

election day, a pardonably exultant celebration at success, an irritable demeanor when affairs were dubious — all this is to be looked for in the case of an eager, overbearing, self-assured young man of twenty-six meeting the cross-currents of life for the first time. Life here was never static; it went with snap and vigor. Heavy clouds, however, came all too soon. Scarcely five years after her wedding day Elizabeth Vassall died; and John Vassall's personal grief must have been increased by seeing the deaths of many of his friends within the next few months from an epidemic of "throat distemper" which carried off old and young, from President Holyoke's wife down to children of three and four years. It is no wonder that John was perfectly willing to sell his house and all its furnishings to his young brother Henry when the latter was looking about for an establishment in anticipation of marriage. In a new house on the river bank near Elmwood and with a new wife, John started again after his tragic interlude; but he himself died at the early age of thirty-four, on November 27, 1747.

If eighteenth-century families began the unceasing discussion about the comparative advantages of four years at college and of immediate entrance into business, Henry Vassall must have been a shining example for proponents of the latter course. Or perhaps he furnished the Evangeline Adamses of that time confirmation of the old superstition that it is lucky to be born on Christmas Day. Henry was born on December 25, 1721, and never went to college. He was still under twenty when he was able to buy from his brother not only this house, its land, and its furnishings but also thirty acres of marsh land on the opposite bank of the river. Within a few years he added still more acres, so that by 1747 he owned all the land now bounded by Longfellow Park, Brattle, Ash, and Mount Auburn streets. In fact until 1870, when the roadway was widened, the boundary extended thirty feet north of the present Brattle Street line. Provided, then, with a comfortable estate and a steady income from his West Indian sugar plantations, young Henry Vassall made no delay in getting married. On the twenty-

eighth of January, 1742, he wedded Penelope Royall, the eighteen-year-old daughter of wealthy Isaac Royall of Medford and Antigua.

With these young people in command, life again became a gay affair in the old house. They were princely entertainers, giving elaborate dinners, drinking wine by daylight (as one cynical Puritan deduced from the goblet and sun on the family crest), organizing picnics to such local points of interest as Castle William, Dracut, Natick, and Watertown, gambling like the London macaronis for high stakes; in short, as the old family slave Darby put it later, living at the rate of seven years in three.

Even the poorest imagination must be able to envisage some of this from the inventory of Henry Vassall's real and personal property, which amounted to over £1,700, a tidy sum for any day. In the kitchen, for instance, there were no less than eight clothes baskets; and in the cellar, six washtubs. Think of the laundry work that suggests! Six skillets, two frying pans a copper stewpan, a Dutch oven, four kettles, two tea kettles, three spits, and a coffee pot are only a few items in the long list of cooking utensils. In the cellar was an assortment of large and small bottles (contents, unfortunately, not noted), a number of jugs and jars, fourteen old casks, and a copper funnel; while upstairs were a cork puller, decanters, plenty of punch bowls, wine glasses, and beer glasses. The great store of china and glassware, of napkins, tablecloths, sheets, and blankets give evidence of lavish hospitality. All that the most careful housekeeper might mention is here put down in abundance. There were, by way of "interior decoration," nearly a hundred pictures, a large pier glass in the best room, sconce glasses, an "allarbaster image," mahogany tables and chairs, pewter and silver plate.

If the list excites the cupidity of the antiques collector, what would not his brother book collector give for Henry Vassall's library? Shakespeare was there, and *Robinson Crusoe*, Locke's *Essay*, *Don Quixote*, Clarendon, Swift, the *Spectator* and the

Guardian, Mrs. Behn's plays, Gay's *Fables*, *Roderick Random*, *The Female Quixote*, *Joseph Andrews*, *Amelia*, Congreve and Wycherly and Otway, Pope, *The Canterbury Tales*, *Gil Blas*, and *The Arabian Nights;* and a good supply of contemporary European and Asiatic history. I venture to say that very few of these books could have been found in the Harvard College Library; and I am absolutely certain that the college authorities banned such books as *The Gentleman's Instructor*, *The Parish Girl*, *Betsy Thoughtless*, and *The Conduct of Married Life*. Except for a six-shilling Bible and some half dozen religious works, most of the volumes were in the field of history, essays, biography, and contemporary literature, with a preponderance of plays and novels. And the choice in the latter would make Mr. Vassall ineligible for membership in the Watch and Ward Society.

If one may judge a man's character from his reading, then it seems to me that such a library indicates breadth of mind, urbanity of disposition, interest in the world of the moment, and real intellectual ability. Conversation at dinner could never have been dull with such a man at the head of the table. Mr. Batchelder says of him, "He stands out from among [the other somewhat conventional members of his generation] a more picturesque and compelling personality. . . . He was eminently a man of affairs, a good organizer, an acute business manager. . . . A curious confirmation of his amicable relations with his neighbors is to be found in the almost total absence of his name from the court records of his time."

Nevertheless there were financial troubles to give him anxious moments. In 1744 he had to borrow £1,000 from his mother-in-law. In 1756, and again in 1763 and 1765, he had to make the long journey to the West Indies to see about various troubles on his plantations, and before that there were disputes with his brother-in-law about the management of them. At one time he owed his tailor the large sum of £621, a fact from which we may surmise that he was heavily in debt to other tradesmen now and again. The year 1765 must have

been particularly trying for him because he not only had the profitless trip to Antigua but he had to sell his thirty acres across the river. At the same time there was new cause of worry: the citizens of Cambridge, assembled in town meeting on October 14, voted that the Stamp Act was an infraction of their "natural, inherent, constitutional rights"; and during the preceding summer, in an effort to persuade Henry Vassall's nephew Thomas Oliver not to act as Distributor of Stamps, some men from Boston had hanged Oliver in effigy, broken into his house, and destroyed part of his furniture.

Henry Vassall was not to hear much more of the coming storm, however, for he died on March 17, 1769, when he was only a little over forty-seven. Despite his financial troubles and the reasons for them, which of course were known to the whole town, he was sincerely mourned. One of his pallbearers remarks, "It was a very handsome Funerall & a great number of people & carriages." And why not? He had served the state well as Representative and as Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of Middlesex Militia; he was liberal in his distribution of charity; he helped to establish Christ Church and he also subscribed to the expenses of the Puritan meetinghouse; his civic conscience, in short, was well developed.

To his widow Penelope was left the burden of facing alone the trying days just before the Revolution, a time when she had every need of a husband's comfort and support. The air was full of rumors. Dozens of little incidents, which history has failed to record, must have been discussed in the mansions along Tory Row and brought disquiet to their inhabitants. Looking backward, we can see events in due order and proportion; but Penelope Vassall, facing an ominous future, must have been harassed by anxiety at the most trivial happenings and all sorts of wild gossip. It is easy enough to say that she should have remained quietly in this house, letting come what would; but it is far easier to understand why she took alarm along with the rest of her neighbors and fled to Boston in 1774. She was allowed to take away a good deal of baggage,

all she wanted, in fact, except her medicine chest. From Boston she sought refuge in Nantucket, whence she finally secured passage to the West Indies and her ancestral estates.

There was good reason for the refusal of the Provincial Congress to permit Mrs. Vassall to carry away her "medicine chest," which we must remember was not the first-aid box of our time but really a large chest stocked with enough drugs and medicines to fit out an apothecary's shop. There was only one other supply at all comparable to it, and that was in Roxbury, on the other side of the American lines. The existence of the chest in this house and the fact that the place was unusually commodious will explain why it was made the medical headquarters for the Continental troops. Now indeed the house entered upon busier scenes than ever. Almost every day during the winter of 1775–76 there were skirmishes between the Americans and the outposts of the besieged British. Frequently the Americans' cannonading did as much harm to themselves as to the enemy. All this, together with the accidents inevitable among a body of several thousand men, gave the physicians at the Vassall house much work to do.

Their greatest disaster, however, was not in line of duty. It came in the guise of treachery, an act of disloyalty as shocking as that of Benedict Arnold. On October 3, 1775 it was discovered that Dr. Benjamin Church, Surgeon-General of the army, the head of the hospital staff, and a member of the Committee of Safety, was holding traitorous correspondence with the enemy in Boston. *Quis custodiet custodes ipsos?* "He was imprisoned in this house," says Mrs. Gozzaldi in the *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, "where on a door in a room on the second floor . . . may still be read, cut with a penknife, 'B. Church, Jr.'; from this house he was taken, October 27, in a chaise, to the music of a fife and drum playing 'The Rogue's March,' under escort of General Gates, to Watertown Meetinghouse, where he was tried before the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member, and condemned to imprisonment in Connecticut, 'without pen and paper.' This

was later commuted to banishment, but the vessel in which he sailed for the West Indies never having been heard from he was without doubt lost at sea." Tragedy had indeed engraved her mark on this house in making it a connecting link between Benjamin Church and Penelope Vassall, the man without a country and the woman without a country!

When the siege of Boston was over and Cambridge settled down to a brief interval of comparative calmness, the Vassall house was left uninhabited. It was evidently in bad shape for when the Committee of Safety leased it to Nathan Adams, a refugee from Charlestown, they asked a sum far below the rent of the other confiscated houses on Tory Row. Adams was in possession when the Convention troops reached Cambridge early in November, 1777; and he was the first to arrange with Major General Heath for housing some of Burgoyne's men. Tradition has always run that the tenants here were staff officers. Legends also tell of their carousals in the great dining room and especially of how after one lively dinner they pricked a young slave boy to death with their swords.

In November, 1778, the last of the British left Cambridge, and the Vassall house once more sank to an undignified level. On April 1, 1779, the furnishings were auctioned off for sums that barely totaled £25 in silver. In 1781 all the real estate was confiscated by the Massachusetts Legislature. About this time Mrs. Vassall's son-in-law and her brother died, leaving her still more lonely in her exile.

When at last she returned to these shores, she made her home in Boston. Through the kindness of her cousin Joseph Royall and her nephew Thomas Oliver, she managed to have enough income to live modestly. She died on November 17, 1800 and was buried beside her husband in the tomb he built beneath Christ Church in Cambridge. She was seventy-six years old and far different looking from the sweet girl whose portrait now hangs in the Treasure Room of the College Library. But she had had her day; and what a glorious day it was when she walked as mistress through these rooms or gazed

from the windows over her orchards and meadows stretching down to the river.

V

[Mrs. Gozzaldi then resumed her account.]

Since this house was the property of a non-combatant, it was not confiscated and after the Revolution Madame Henry Vassall returned to Boston. Her rights to the estate and the mortgages, with which it was heavily burdened, were bought by Nathaniel Tracy, of Newburyport, who owned the house built by John Vassall, Jr. and lived there in great state. At that time Fred C. Geyer was living here; his daughter Mary Ann had married Andrew Belcher,[1] grandson and only male descendant of Governor Jonathan Belcher.

In 1792 Andrew Craigie bought this house, and Bossenger Foster, who had married his sister Elizabeth Craigie on November 24, 1766, came here to live. They had seven children when they moved in. Mary, their youngest child, was born here and baptized in Christ Church on December 7, 1794. Bossenger Foster was the son of Thomas and Sarah (Bossenger) Foster of Boston. The eldest son, Bossenger, who had graduated at Harvard in 1787, was practicing law in Boston. There were five younger sons who all but one graduated at Harvard while they lived here — Andrew in 1800, John in 1802, Thomas in 1805, James in 1806; George graduated at Brown University, in 1811. The father died while Thomas was in college, April 23, 1805, but the family still occupied the house. The elder daughter, Elizabeth, married Judge Samuel Haven and went to live in Dedham soon after they came here.

We get a glimpse of life here in a letter written in 1807 by Miss Hill, who lived opposite, in the house where Mrs. Matthew Bridges and Mrs. Pyam Blowers had been mistresses. She writes:

"Mrs. Foster had a large party, the boys once in a while persuade her into one. The company were Mr. and Mrs.

[1] Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. XXV, p. 46.

Craigie, Judge and Mrs. Hilliard, deacon Hilliard and lady and sister, Mr. Yarnold, lady and sister and Miss Stevens, the Miss Mellons, my brother, sister, myself and the two girls, the young gentlemen of the family, Andrew, Tom, and James. Bossenger never makes his appearance and John is never well enough to see company, there was also Mr. Abbot, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Carey and Ben Lincoln. We had a very social time I assure you Mrs. Yarnold sings you know and *he* plays so we had *musick*. The next day Mary Craigie (Foster) had all the misses of her acquaintance who danced till eleven."[1]

Bossenger Foster, Jr., died unmarried January 17, 1816. Andrew Foster married in Cambridge, March 10, 1813, Mary Conant. He was a physician in Dedham, where he died in 1831. John Foster died unmarried in 1836. Miss Dana has already told you of the deaths of James and George Foster in the epidemic of 1817. I cannot tell when the Fosters left this house nor do I find any record of the death of Mrs. Bossenger Foster. In 1821 her brother Andrew Craigie died and her daughter Elizabeth (Foster) Haven inherited Lot 1 of his estate, which comprised this house and grounds. The Vassall tomb in the Garden Street Burial Place seems to have gone with the house into the possession of Andrew Craigie, who with all his Foster nephews and nieces is buried in it.

From 1818 until 1821 Richard H. Dana, Sr. hired this house. His youngest daughter, Susan, was born here. In 1890 when she was seventy-six years old the eldest daughter, Charlotte, told something of their life here. She said, "The children were fascinated by Mrs. Craigie's garden with its pond and the statues on the island and in the grounds, but their Scotch nurse, Mary De Costa, told them that Mrs. Craigie was a French infidel and hated children and that it would not be safe for them to go there. There was also another story that at the stroke of twelve o'clock the statues came down from their pedestals."

Mary told all sorts of ghost stories and said that they must

[1] Cambridge Historical Society *Proceedings*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

never go into the attic of the Vassall House for a murder had been committed there and there were bloodstains on the floor and, if anyone stamped on them, the floor would sink right through. From the big kitchen a stairway led up to the nursery. At the foot of this was a closet door which she told them they must never go near as they would fall down into a pit below; and that it was here that the ropes or chains were that wound up the jack at the kitchen fire, and she opened the door and showed them, which frightened them very much. There was a story that Vassall had put a negro on the jack and roasted him to death.

I do not know who were the next occupants of the house. Possibly John Foster and his brother, Dr. Thomas Foster, might have lived here as they both voted in Cambridge in 1822. Dr. Thomas was town clerk in 1827. In 1822 he built the house now occupied by Professor George Herbert Palmer (11 Quincy Street) in the College Yard on land of Judge Edmund Trowbridge. Dr. Thomas Foster died in 1831.

In 1828 Josiah Lane hired this house from Mrs. Haven and lived here with his wife (Nancy Wilder), six sons, and three daughters. He came from Ashburnham, where he was born November 28, 1782. He was married in 1805. His ancestor built the first house on the Winthrop grant of fifteen hundred acres in Billerica, where his father lived until 1780, when he went on horseback to Ashburnham. The Lane family lived in this house until 1833, when they moved into a house formerly occupied by Edward Fillebrown on the road leading from the Botanic Garden to West Cambridge. The youngest of the nine children, Thomas Lane, graduated at Harvard in 1851. In 1857 they went west and Josiah died in Anoka, Minnesota in 1876.

My grandfather, Samuel Batchelder, bought this house of the heirs of Mrs. Elizabeth (Foster) Haven in 1841. At that time a family by the name of Bright were tenants. Before he came to live here, a fire was set under the baby's cradle by a negro girl hired by Mrs. Bright, the roof of the eastern side

was burned off, and the dormer windows were not replaced when the roof was rebuilt. The two now there were put in not many years ago.

I was brought here when I was nine months old. I spent seventeen winters and twenty-nine summers here and probably know more about it than anyone now living. Just two hundred years after Andrew Belcher came to live here, in 1882, I removed into the house I now occupy, 96 Brattle Street, which was built that year by my parents.

In 1842 Samuel Batchelder came to live here with his wife (who was Mary, eldest daughter of Brigadier General John Montgomery, of Haverhill, New Hampshire) and their four youngest children. Two sons, John and William, were already married. Isabella, the only daughter living, was twenty-three years old. The three sons were younger; they were Eugene, Francis Lowell, and Samuel. Francis Lowell was in the class of 1844, studying at Harvard; and Samuel, a boy of twelve, attended the Hopkins Classical School.

My grandmother was hospitable and there was a gay circle of young people to be entertained here. There were many friends and acquaintances. My grandmother was educated in the famous school of Mrs. Rowson at Medford, and my mother at that of the Misses Inglis, at the corner of Park and Beacon streets, Boston, where the mother of President Lowell was a schoolmate, as was also Miss Maria Fay, who lived near here on Garden Street. Josiah Quincy was President of Harvard, and my mother was a great friend of one of the elderly daughters. He was succeeded by Edward Everett, who had been intimate with the family for many years, as his sister's husband, Nathan Hale, was the dearest friend of my grandfather. All the professors, old and young, were welcomed here as well as many of the students, classmates of the boys. The year after the family moved in, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who had been rooming with Mrs. Craigie, married the daughter of Nathan Appleton, neighbor in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and partner in textile manufactures of Mr. Batchelder, and

they made their home in the Craigie House. Rev. Samuel Longfellow had been a friend of the young people before this in Portland.

Another generation filled the house with gaiety and laughter; there were musicales, readings, dances, and good times. Isabella was a botanist and wrote on trees for the *North American Review*, of which Professor Francis Bowen was editor. Professor Asa Gray and his wife were her intimate friends. For nine years the family circle was unbroken. Samuel was graduated from Harvard in 1851, later taking his LL.B. at Bowdoin; Eugene (in 1845) and Francis Lowell (in 1848) had graduated from the Harvard Law School.

December 1, 1851 Francis Lowell Batchelder was married in Christ Church to Susan Cabot Foster, daughter of Charles Chauncy Foster of 7 Kirkland Street; and the next day his sister Isabella was married there to Thomas Potts James of Philadelphia, where she went to live. Eugene Batchelder married Caroline A. Deshon, daughter of Daniel Deshon, June 16, 1864, and Samuel married Marianne Giles Washburn, daughter of Governor Emory Washburn, June 20, 1867.

Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, Sr., died April 24, 1869 and Mr. and Mrs. James came to live in the house, to take care of her father. They brought with them four children, Mary Isabella, Montgomery, Clarence Gray, and Frances Batchelder James, another set of youths to make merry here. Samuel Batchelder, Sr., lived until February 5, 1879, dying here in his ninety-fifth year. He was in full possession of his faculties and wrote editorials for the *Boston Advertiser* almost to the last. His advice in his declining years was often sought by the manufacturers of Boston. All the family are facile with the pen and addicted to poetry.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Batchelder contributed to the current periodicals of their time. Mr. Batchelder published a history of cotton manufacture and a pamphlet on slavery. He was a member of the New Hampshire Legislature at the time of the Dartmouth controversy, and was a member of the first Board

of Aldermen of Cambridge. He was loyal to the Union during the Civil War, and fitted out with uniforms a company of Cambridge volunteers. He also coöperated with Mr. Longfellow and others in giving the land across the river to the city. He was generous to Christ Church, to whose interests his wife and sons Francis Lowell and Samuel were devoted. It was chiefly through their efforts that the chime of bells was placed in the tower of the church.

While living in Philadelphia Mrs. James was active in public affairs as manager of the School of Design; devoted worker in the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War; and, after the peace, head of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bureau, which did much for the education of the Southern negroes. She was always helpful in church work. While still in Philadelphia she began a volume that required much historical and genealogical research; this was privately printed by Welch and Bigelow here in 1874. It is entitled *Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr.* She was chairman of the Cambridge Ladies Committee, formed to aid in erecting the Woman's Building at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. This committee published a book entitled *Cambridge in 1775*, and also ordered made the Washington Elm china sold to aid this fund. During her last years in this house Mrs. James devoted much time to the study of ceramics, of which she had a good collection, and in 1878 she visited the noted china factories in England, France, and Germany.

Mr. James was interested in horticulture and for many years was treasurer of the American Pomological Society, which did much for the betterment of the cultivation of apples throughout the country. He was a bryologist, and devoted himself to the study of mosses for fifty years; his herbarium belongs to Harvard College. He compiled the textbook, still in use, *The Mosses of North America*, which was finished all but the index when he suddenly died in this house on February 22, 1882, the day before he intended to move into 96 Brattle Street, the house he and his wife had built on the west lawn of this house.

A letter written by my mother, Isabella Batchelder, to her mother at Saco, gives the impression the house made on her when she first saw it. She was visiting the Nathan Hales at the time and drove over here.

"May 19, 1842

The house is the queerest place I ever saw, the number of rooms is quite immense and some one remarked we should need to have a plan hung up in the house for people to find their way about, but I like it very much, though think you may fancy there are too many rooms to keep in order. The half-circle room is exceedingly pleasant, though not quite as large as I expected, but the three long windows open into one part of the garden.[1] The beaufet retains all the freshness of paint and gilding, the room which contains it will make a very retired room. [This is the southeast parlor called the green room, or later the York room.]

The chambers are exceedingly pleasant, the one I had chosen seemed rather cold and cheerless from absence of sun, and I rather fancied the one over the dining room, the room which I believe you thought of taking — the back one on the garden side is one of the pleasantest in the house. — The river is in view 'winding through the meadows bright and fair,' so we shall not lose our favorite water. The lowness of the rooms did not strike me disagreeably. . . . The trees are beautiful, the acacia hedge around the brick wall was just beginning to come out; in front of the lime trees next the wall are some crimson hawthorn bushes, almost trees, and overlooking the paved yard is another beautiful hedge. They are in bud now, I wished that they were in bloom so that I might see the far famed hawthorn."

Looking at the house from Brattle Street you would hardly think that it is a colonial house, the architecture is so different from those we are accustomed to; but if you go around to the south, you will see that it consists of two gambrel-roofed wings connected by central rooms on all three stories.

[1] This proves that the conservatory was built by Mr. Batchelder.

The grounds of Vassall House extended from Mr. Longfellow's pasture on the west, now the park, to Ash Street on the east, and from Brattle Street to Mount Auburn Street. The red brick wall mentioned, on Brattle and part way down Ash Street, was capped by heavy boards like an inverted V. It was broken by two heavy wooden gates standing between high granite posts. The eastern one, always open, led to the yard, paved with large beach stones, that ended in the stable; that on the west, to a graveled space in front of the door. The acacia hedge behind the wall grew to trees fifty feet high; and when Brattle Street was widened in 1869 one hundred of them were cut down and the wall rebuilt thirty feet nearer the house, the wooden coping being replaced by granite. At that time a copper cent with an eighteenth century date was found in the mortar, so probably the wall was built by the Vassalls. The workmen digging the foundation for the new wall came on bones and being superstitious refused to work until an expert was called who pronounced them ox bones, probably left there by Robert Parker, the butcher of the seventeenth century.

Inside the western gate stood twin linden or lime trees, their entwined branches making a mound of green. When gas pipes were laid on Brattle Street, the one nearest the wall was killed; the other spread its branches toward the street and in years the tree became symmetrical. The trunk was over eight feet in circumference and made charming seats for us children. When my father and mother built 96 Brattle Street, on the lawn, they gave a sidewalk on their land so that the tree might remain, but Mr. Whitney, who had built a house on Hawthorn Street, the old paved yard, stubbed his toe on the roots one day and it was forthwith cut down, all the neighbors mourning its loss. Two beautiful elm trees stood between the house and the wall; they are now gone, victims of the leopard moth.

Before the east front stood two tall Siberian crab apple trees, a mass of sweet pink bloom. One flowered and bore fruit one year, the other the next. When Miss Emma Carey bought the

lot next east of this house she planned to have one or both of the trees in her garden. That year they both blossomed together and were very beautiful. When Miss Carey came to see her cellar, she found both trees had been cut down. At the southeast corner of the house stood a tall old cedar tree around which a circular bench had been built. High lilac bushes made it a sheltered arbor, which was our favorite playground. West of this was a horse-chestnut tree (the one now standing in Mrs. Vosburgh's garden). From its trunk to an old hawthorn tree, still there until lately, my hammock was swung.

Across the grassy space, used successively for croquet, archery, and tennis and where the marquee was pitched for the refreshments for the garden parties on Grandpa Batchelder's birthdays (the last one was in June, 1874 when he was ninety years old) rose the ancient mulberry tree which, until it fell a few years ago, bore each year a bountiful crop of purple berries. I think it was about 1877 that Mr. Joseph Head, of the class of 1804, in college with John and Thomas Foster, came to call on my grandfather. He was for some years the oldest graduate of Harvard and I think was related to the Bossenger Fosters. He told me that when he was a boy he used to sit in the crotch of that mulberry tree and study his Latin grammar, and it seemed to him when he spoke about as large as it was eighty years before. I think that it may have been there in the time of the Belchers. Beyond was a catalpa tree, a glory when in flower.

The Broad Walk reached from the east door nearly to Ash Street and on both sides were flowering shrubs and perennials. Between it and the brick wall the ground was purple in spring with the grape hyacinths. On the right side an iron summer house stood under the shade of a tall Katherine pear tree, that bore great pears with rosy cheeks. A narrower walk ran parallel with Ash Street and ended in a little house made of the trunks of small trees with their bark on, built by Francis Lowell Batchelder when he was in college. It was paved with beach stones, had a door facing north, and diamond-shaped windows

on the other three sides. It was a fine playhouse. Behind it was a tiny garden with circular path around a rose bush. Beyond this was a slight declivity that was a fine place for coasting in winter.

Two paths led westward from here, the upper and the lower path. They were lined with fruit trees. Here and there was a quaint wooden trellis, about three feet high, on which grapevines grew. These two paths brought us to the long path which went from the conservatory door to Mount Auburn Street.

At the lower part, beyond a hedge which shut off the garden, was, on the left, the cornfield, and, on the right, the potato patch. Nearer the house on the right was the vegetable garden laid out under a towering cherry tree and still closer, near the clothes yard, stood the cold-grape house of brick with glass roof. Here hung the Black Hamburgs. All summer long there was something to be had from the garden, from the time the first strawberries and cherries were ripe until the last nut fell from the black walnut tree. There were raspberries, thimbleberries, blackberries, gooseberries, currants, red, black, white, and cherries, grapes, plums, peaches, apples, and many kinds of pears which are never seen now, among them the Saint Michel, from the old tree that I think came from France.

Before going into the house I must give you a glimpse of what you would see entering the west gate. Directly opposite was the great stable, facing Brattle Street, about where Acacia Street now is. The yard paved with cobblestones, now Hawthorn Street, led to it. Wide double doors opened into the space where the best carryall, the victoria, and brougham were kept. Small doors on each side led to the stalls for the horses on the left and the cow house on the right; above was the haymow and above that was a round window under a V-shaped roof. Behind were the sties and the chicken yard filled with noisy occupants. At right angles was the carriage house shaded by a fine elm tree; and between them a three-barred gate led into the pasture, where under the apple trees the cows and horses grazed. In

the carriage house were the boobyhut, the single sleigh, the buggy and gig, and on the walls hung the saddles, harness, and bridles. In one corner was the old square discarded reading desk from Christ Church.

The pasture, bounded by Mr. Longfellow's field, extended to Mount Auburn Street, and enclosed one of the willow trees made famous by James Russell Lowell. There were seats in the tree and it was a fine place from which to watch the students sculling or the Charles River schooners laden with coal for Watertown or coming back with lumber. At the foot of the tree there was more or less water and we were warned not to go near it for it was a quicksand and had once swallowed up a man, his horse, and cart.

Of all the trees I have mentioned only two are now standing, the horse-chestnut tree in Mr. Vosburgh's garden and the beautiful elm in front of Mr. Blodgett's house at 7 Acacia Street.

I have been too long keeping you outside the house. Let us now go in at the west door and I will try to tell you how it looked in my time. You will notice at once that unlike most colonial houses there is no wide hall from a front to a back door. The central room, which connects the two wings, runs across the house. On our right is the dining room with two windows on the paved yard and one opposite, which originally gave on to the garden, but in my time looked into the conservatory which occupied the space between the wings. On the south side is the eight-foot stack chimney between this room and the kitchen. This is without doubt the chimney of the original house. On the right of the chimney is the hot closet, where meals were set for late comers. The windows on the west have heavy panelled shutters that run on little tracks. Beside the chimney on the left stood the butler's mahogany tray on cross legs; into it the soiled dishes were placed and carried to the kitchen after each meal, although there was a slide in the hot closet. On the east side was a large china closet with drawers.

The original house, I think, as I have said, consisted of this

room and the kitchen. This is shown by the construction of the cellar wall, which is of heavy stones under the kitchen. The main house was raised before Mr. Batchelder bought it and a granite foundation placed under it, so it is higher by two steps than the kitchen. A stairway led from the kitchen to the cellar and there were two closets, one beyond the other. On the left wall hung many heavy Britannia covers for the dishes of every size. By the south wall was the long sink with running water and an iron pump that pumped up water to the bathroom, which was over the hot closet. There were panelled shutters on the two windows that looked onto the paved yard, and hearts are cut in them, I suppose to let in the light in the morning when the servants came down and found them closed. I remember when a small child seeing a servant fill with whale oil the small glass lamps that were used in the third story; there was gas in the rest of the house.

A door led into the laundry where stood the old wooden pump that brought up the cold spring water. I have often seen carters from the country come in with a pail and beg for some of that ice-cold water that never failed. It was from the underground river that fed the town spring at the foot of Brattle Street when Cambridge was settled. A vestibule with two doors close to the pump made access easy. A door on the south led into the large square woodshed, which was paved with hexagonal blocks cut from tree trunks. This shed had three other doors, one leading to the paved yard, one to the clothes yard, and the third, on the east, bringing us into the brick piazza, as it was called, the floor being of brick. Wooden blinds pierced by a door shut it off from the garden and it leads us up to another closet back to back with the china closet, where on a shelf of convenient height for the children stood the big cooky jar.

Now we go through the dining room into the west entry once more. On the left is the door into the library. This was once two rooms; one was the butler's pantry and from the window in old times the stirrup cup was handed to departing

guests. In my time one of the two Brattle Street windows was closed to make room for books, which lined the walls. Mr. Batchelder always regretted that he did not take his father's advice and go to Harvard; he was in too much of a hurry to settle down. He was a great reader and had many histories and biographies, especially of Emperor Napoleon. In the Old Corner Book Store in Boston hangs on the wall a bill for books ordered by him before he came to Cambridge. The east wall was an alcove where was once a sliding panel which was thought to give access to the cellar stairs behind.

Passing along the entry we see on the left the cellar door and on the right a strong panelled door with heavy brass latch, once an outer door, later opening into the conservatory; and so we come to the central room, always called the drawing room. This room had four doors and five windows, two on Brattle Street and three that reached from floor to ceiling, each with three sashes, opening into the conservatory. When the sashes were raised, the room was filled with the perfume of flowers. These windows were in a large circular bay, the width of the room, divided from it by two white wooden pillars of simple design upholding a beam.

Covering the space between the smaller windows was a large square mirror and under it a sofa covered with crimson damask, as were the chairs in the room. On the west wall between the doors was the fireplace and mantel under a square panel as at present. Against the opposite wall stood the Chickering grand piano. In the bay was a marble-topped table and against the east wall an escritoire with let-down front, on which invitations were written and answered. Over it hung the portrait of President Harrison by Chester Harding. Two other portraits by him, Daniel Webster, a distant relative whom Mr. Batchelder greatly admired, and Washington Allston, one of the two portraits for which he gave sittings, hung on walls on this floor. The portrait of Mrs. Batchelder painted in 1824 in Concord, New Hampshire, by Samuel Finley Breeze Morse who invented the telegraph alphabet, hung in this room and

also two copies of Italian masters, a Madonna, and Lot and his daughters.

The floor was covered by a Wilton carpet in geometrical patterns in wood colors. It lay there for thirty years. I have now a cricket covered with it.

Going out by the door opposite that by which we entered, we find ourselves in the east entry. A low door on the right gives access to the conservatory through what was once a closet. This is the handsomest part of the house and from the style of panelling and staircase may have been added by the Frizells or Vassalls. We pass under a narrow archway and find on the left a wide archway with Grecian fret on its lower face. Opposite is a pier glass reaching almost from floor to ceiling. There is one window with a window seat on Brattle Street and two leading to the piazza. A door opens into the drawing room on one side of the fireplace and another into a closet on the other side. This room was called the saloon, at a time when that word had not the same association as now. After 1869 my mother's square Chickering piano stood here and it was given up to her china collection. It was used as a reception room for callers.

The inner front door is handsomely panelled; the outer one is between two narrow glass lights. One room in this floor still remains to be described. It was called the green room until 1867 when Mr. Batchelder resigned as treasurer of the York Manufacturing Company and the latter gave him a large number of standard books all beautifully bound and also two oil paintings, a scene in New Hampshire and the "Cliffs of Dover" by De Haas. Later Mr. Batchelder added to this gift Napoleon's *Egypt*, the deluxe edition, for whose great folios of illustrations a special case had to be built.

This room was always the coolest in summer. On one side of the fireplace a long window opened into the conservatory and on the other stood the old buffet, or corner cupboard, as we call them now. Opposite, two long windows opened onto the piazza, and on the south side another long window gave

access to a small platform where one could sit and enjoy the garden. In front of it was the odd little box-bordered garden. Perhaps this was once paved, as lately kidney beach stones have been dug up there. On the outside wall as far as the top of the windows above was trained a flowering grape; the sweetest perfume in the garden came from its flowers.

The panelled staircase, with its balustrade having three varieties of uprights, is almost a replica of the one that was in the old Province House in Boston. It had two landings. On the lower one an arched window lighted the hall. Under it was a large square panel which was loose at the bottom and we children were sure that if we could get into that dark space we should find jewels and treasures.

A few steps led to the upper landing and then other stairs brought us to the second floor. In the hall, lighted by the window over the front door, stood the piano that General Montgomery gave to his daughter when she was at Miss Rowson's school in Medford. It once belonged to Amalia, the favorite daughter of King George III of England. It is now in the museum of the Conservatory of Music in Boston, having been donated by John Montgomery Batchelder, the eldest son of the family.

Two bedrooms open from this hall; the southern one, richly panelled, was spoken of as the haunted chamber. It was said that a young bride had died there and her breathings could be often heard at night. As far as my recollections go, they were never heard after the old catalpa tree on the east side was cut down.

From the upper landing three steep steps led to the door of Grandma's room, which was over the drawing room. It had two windows looking out on Brattle Street, from whose window seats one could see all the passers. The two opposite windows, above the roof of the conservatory, gave a view of the river, which at high tide was like a wide lake with the great stacks of salt meadow hay like islands in it. Beyond were the hills of Brighton. This was the room where Dr. Benjamin Church,

the traitor, was imprisoned and his initials may still be seen carved on the door which leads through a closet into the northwest corner chamber.

A door on the other side of the fireplace opens into the west entry. A simple staircase of cherry-wood goes down to the west door by which we entered the house. At the end of the entry is the dressing room above that door which opens into the chamber over the dining room. This was another delightful room; two western windows looked out on the paved yard and the great linden tree and beyond we saw the hill and tower in Mount Auburn Cemetery. All the four windows had window seats. On one side of the fireplace is the bathroom, on the other a door into the back entry. Close by to the left is the circular stairway which led to the third story.

Two steps down and we come to the door of the room over the kitchen. A slide high up on the wall opened into the bathroom. Beyond was the store closet. Here on shelves were jars and tumblers of jams, jellies, and preserves and the great sugar loaf in its blue paper from which the lump sugar must be cut. On the floor stood two great bags of Mocha and Java coffee berries, and it was my lot to measure out the right number of spoonfuls of each on Tuesday mornings into the heavy iron pan held by the cook. She roasted them while the ironing was being done by the other servants, and every morning ground fresh the required amount on the coffee grinder fixed to the kitchen wall.

There was another small bedroom beyond and then we came into the back chamber, as it was called. This was open to the roof so we could see the beams and rafters. In my time it was filled with discarded furniture, antiques, a queer bathtub made of canvas stretched on a frame that had been used in a college room, the great rocking-horse covered with real horsehair, the baby's high chair, chests, and all kinds of delightful things to play with. Windows on three sides gave light.

The chief stairway to the third story was a continuation of the cherry-wood stairs. At the top was a window over the one

that lighted this west staircase. Under this window were the red stains that were always alluded to in my time as cranberry stains, for fear of frightening me, but were said to be the blood-stains of a negro slave boy who was pricked to death by the swords of Burgoyne's officers when quartered here.

There were five rooms on this third floor. The one over the kitchen was occupied by the cook. In a closet was the water tank, to which water was pumped by hand from the kitchen. The next one was my father's study, its walls lined with the cases for his herbarium of mosses. There was much unused space. A flight of steep stairs led into the cupola and from its windows on the Fourth of July we watched the fireworks in all the surrounding country.

At the east end were two rooms. The southern one was once divided into three cells, it was said for the Vassall slaves. In my time it was a long room with a southern window and in it was the carpenter's bench of my brothers, and there were kept their collection of birds' nests, birds' eggs, minerals, and shells, and often there would be a squirrel in a cage or some other animal. On the door of a low closet in the northeast room was a long story in rhyme about the ghosts who lived there. It was weird and thrilling. It has long since disappeared.

I have taken you all over the house now and you will be tired of the description and will be ready to go over it yourselves and notice the changes that have been made.

THOMAS OLIVER

By Oliver Elton

At the Garden Party on June 3, 1931, Dr. Oliver Elton, Professor Emeritus of English Literature at the University of Liverpool and Visiting Lecturer at Harvard University, gave an informal talk about his ancestor Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver. The complete material will be found in the twenty-eighth volume of the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Dr. Elton has provided the following summary of his remarks.

On September 2, 1774 Thomas Oliver, the last royal Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was forced by the mob outside his house, Elmwood, to resign his seat on the Mandamus Council, which was held to violate the charter of the colony.

Thomas Oliver was not akin to Andrew Oliver, the previous Lieutenant-Governor, or to other Olivers in Cambridge, but came of a family of Antiguan planters. His father Robert settled, built a house, and died, in Dorchester. Thomas, born in Antigua on January 5, 1734, entered Harvard in 1750, taking his A.B. in 1753 and his A.M. in 1756; on the last occasion he opposed in Latin a thesis on the question "Whether polygamy is forbidden by the law of nature?" A pastel portrait of him by Joseph Blackburn, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, shows him at the age of twenty-six. He was a prominent supporter of Christ Church, Cambridge, and often senior churchwarden; the archives, shown to the Society at a former meeting by courtesy of Rev. C. Leslie Glenn, contain his signature and minutes in his hand. He probably contributed English verse to the Harvard volume (1761), *Pietas et Gratulatio*, a set of loyal addresses on the coronation of George III. In 1760 he married Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge and by

her had six daughters, all of whom were to share his exile in England. On May 28, 1774 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and president of the Mandamus Council, and on August 8 he was sworn in by Governor Gage.

The lecturer then summarized Oliver's narrative of the affair of September 2: (1) his successful visit to Gage, at the request of a committee of landholders, in order to avert the rumored advance of troops; (2) the subsequent demand of the mob (contrary to the assurance of the committee) that he should at once resign from the Council; (3) the threats against his life and danger to his family if he should refuse; and (4) the long and painful parleys, which ended in Oliver's signing the renunciation and promising never again to sit on the Council, "on the present novel and oppressive plan of government." He signed after adding, in spite of more menaces, a clause of his own: "My house at Cambridge being surrounded by four thousand people, in compliance with their commands I sign my name." "An Englishman and a descendant," said the lecturer, "may breathe a wish that Oliver could have told the mob to go to their own place; but it could hardly be, and few men would have acted otherwise." The *Boston Gazette*, to which the Narrative is a reply, in substance agrees with Oliver's account and explains how the presence of the unpopular Commissioner Hallowell at the critical moment had fired the mob, whom the committee could no longer control.

Oliver, still Lieutenant-Governor (he had not been attacked in that capacity or resigned it), retired with his family to Boston, and in March, 1776 went with the evacuating fleet to England. After a while he settled for life in Bristol. His conduct in America received official approval from Lord Dartmouth. He was proscribed in Massachusetts, and his house and property there were confiscated. In 1781, now a widower, Oliver, on a visit to Antigua, married Harriet Freeman of that island. By her he had two daughters, the younger of whom, Emily, married James Elton, Recorder of Tiverton, Devon. These were the grandparents of the lecturer. Later Oliver sub-

mitted a memorial, was heard before a commission, and received a pension and a sum of money in compensation for his losses in America. He died on April 29, 1815, his wife Harriet in 1808; there is a monumental inscription to them both in St. Paul's Church, Bristol. Oliver's will is preserved. The lecturer concluded by saying that Thomas Oliver, though for history he is "only a feather in the whirlpool," leaves the impression of a friendly, likable, straightforward, and honest man, "whom it is good to have had for an ancestor."

PRESIDENT CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON

By Mrs. Eunice W. F. Felton

Read October 27, 1931

I must begin my remarks by saying that I never saw my father-in-law, President Cornelius Conway Felton of Harvard. His son, Cornelius Conway Felton, Jr., whom I married, was only ten years old when his father died, so that his memories of him were very vague. One, however, is distinct: at six o'clock his father went regularly to morning prayers, which were held in University Hall, as I think Appleton Chapel was not built and beautiful old Holden Chapel was too small to accommodate the students who gathered at these morning services. Sometimes the Felton boy would accompany his father to these services, and used to say that it was always very cold in the room.

His most vivid memory of college days was on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales with his suite to Harvard in 1860. The Prince travelled under the title of Lord Renfrew; his escort, Lord Lyons, was British Minister at Washington, and Senator Lodge told me he was of the Jewish race. President Felton introduced his young son to the Prince, who shook hands with him and left a very pleasant impression.

Before the Prince left, President Felton presented a volume to him containing extracts from the *History of Harvard* written by President Quincy. The book was bound in black leather, ornamented in gilt with a crown and three ostrich plumes, the special decoration of the Prince of Wales. Mr. Felton had two copies made, one for the Prince and one for himself. I have seen this volume and I wish I could say where it is now, but there were evidently book thieves in those days as well as now. A southern lady, whose house was torn down during the

Civil War, said to me, "The Huns are not all dead!" The next time I go to London I shall inquire at the British Museum for the volume.

If we are to judge a man by his friends, certainly President Felton had an interesting and rare number of them. His first intimate friend in college days was Mr. Epes Dixwell, who was his roommate while both were students at Harvard. I once heard Dr. William James say, speaking of the great intellectual group of that epoch, "The brilliant galaxy of wit and talent that was collected in the small town of Cambridge, which was often called a village, was amazing and unsurpassed in history, even rivaling the classic age of Athens." From those intimate friends connected with the university I shall mention the names of Professor Benjamin Peirce, Professor Louis Agassiz, Edward Everett, President Sparks, Professor Horsford, Dr. Peabody, and many others, all of whom met daily and enjoyed constant interchange of ideas, good stories, and intimate friendship. Outside this college circle we find Mr. Longfellow, who, though young, had already a world-wide reputation, Senator Charles Sumner, and Dr. and Mrs. Howe. I heard one of the Longfellow daughters say, "We all knew when Mr. Felton came to see Papa in the study, as there was much laughter and Mr. Felton laughed louder than anyone else."

Some one has asked me how it came about that President Felton was so well acquainted with Charles Dickens. I might reply, "They were kindred spirits." I really think their friendship began when they had such a wide correspondence concerning the Copyright Law. Mr. Dickens was much disturbed and surprised that the publishers in this country had taken his novels without his permission and broadcast them, so that he was deprived of the profits of his works. Mr. Felton had defended Mr. Dickens's position and written severe criticism, which was published in various papers. The *North American Review*, I believe, was his especial medium of expressing himself. There was much similarity in their experience: each was a self-made man, each had arrived at the highest place in his

work and profession after dark hours of discouragement and struggle of untold labor.

I wish to read the following note from President Quincy to Mr. Felton; the original, in Mr. Quincy's handwriting, I gave to his great-grandson, Edmund Quincy, two years ago:

Quincy, Mass., 1860

Dear President Felton:

Will you dine with me at my home in Quincy at 2.30 P.M., Wednesday next? I am expecting George Wm. Curtis and Richard H. Dana, Jr. (Two Years Before the Mast), also.

Yours sincerely,

Josiah Quincy

" Come with a whoop, or come with a call,
Come with a good will, or come not at all."

Mr. Felton wrote on the back of this note: "Mr. Quincy was 89 years old when he wrote this note and invitation to dinner."

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1929

Since the last annual meeting, very largely attended and held in the Fay House by the courtesy of the Corporation of Radcliffe College, the following meetings have been held:

The spring meeting was held at the house of Alexander H. Bill, Esq., 45 Highland Street, Tuesday, April 30; the subject was "Cambridge Physicians," by Edmund H. Stevens, M.D.

The garden party was held on June 21 at the John Hicks house, set up in its new situation at the corner of South and Boylston Streets, which owing to the courtesy of the tenants, our fellow members Professor and Mrs. Fraser, was thrown open from top to bottom, with its very handsome and interesting furniture clearly marked with typewritten labels. After the members and the contributors to the salvaging of the house who were not members had been given opportunity to inspect the house and contents, refreshments were served on the lawn and Professor Beale spoke briefly on plans for the Tercentenary celebration.

The fall meeting was held October 22 at the residence of Arthur B. Nichols, Esq., at which Mr. Thomas F. O'Malley spoke on "The History of North Cambridge." The attendance as in the past has ranged from fifty-five to seventy-five, depending on the state of weather and other attractions on the date chosen.

Since the date of the last annual meeting the Council has continued to be occupied with the raising of money to preserve the Hicks house and with applying pressure to the Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont, to hasten the Society's publication of "The Index to Paige's History of Cambridge" to completion. At these meetings the members of the Council have shown themselves conscientious, their average attendance being very high.

During the year resignations have been received from the following:

GERALDINE BROOKS
REV. RAYMOND CALKINS
LEO R. ETZKORN
CONSTANCE H. HALL
WILLIAM B. REID

those of the first, third and fifth due to removal of residence; from Associate members:

GUY B. COLLIER, New York
S. FOSTER DAMON, Providence, Rhode Island

We have also lost by death the following:

FRANK M. CLARK
GEORGE C. DEANE
BYRON S. HURLBUT
WINTHROP S. SCUDDER
ALICE DURANT SMITH

January 24, 1930

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1930

During the past year we have lost by death the following members:

Adeline A. Douglass
Herbert H. Dyer
Bertha M. Howland
Natalie Holden Lovejoy
Hugh Montgomery
Mary Persis Bailey (Associate)
Marion B. Fessenden (Associate)
John A. L. Odde (Associate)

The following resignations have been accepted:

Charles J. Bullock
Mary H. Deane
G. Harvey Hull
Joseph Lovejoy
Francis P. Magoun, Jr.
Margaret Boyden Magoun
David T. W. McCord
Charles W. Merrill
Mrs. Charles W. Merrill
Madeleine L. B. Palmer
Rev. John S. Penman
Lillian C. Richardson (Mrs. Frederick A.)
Rose Sherman
Sarah C. F. Wellington (Mrs. Austin C.)
William R. Whittemore
Mrs. George Richardson (Associate)

and the following persons found themselves unable to accept membership in the Society:

Cornelia W. Green
Prof. and Mrs. Eugene Wambaugh

While the following new regular members have been elected:

Alice C. Allyn
Albert H. Blevins
Mrs. Albert H. Blevins
Mary Davis Hawley (Mrs. Frank B.)
Edward Ingraham
Elsie P. Ingraham (Mrs. Edward)
Mrs. Albert P. Norris
Arthur Clendenin Robertson
Mrs. Arthur Clendenin Robertson
Richard M. Russell
Helen McK. M. Russell (Mrs. Richard M.)
Jenny C. Watts
Mary W. Willard
Grace D. Winslow (Mrs. Henry J.)
Elizabeth W. Wright (Mrs. C. H. C.)

We have, therefore, about twenty-four vacancies in our regular memberships.

The usual meetings have continued during the year, with particularly interesting papers read and unusually large attendances. The twenty-fifth annual meeting was held on January 24, 1930, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur H. Brooks. After the officers had been reëlected, except that David T. Pottinger as Editor of the Society replaced the Rev. Prescott Evarts on the Council, and the reports read, Mr. Edwin J. Hipkiss, curator of decorative arts of Europe and America at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, spoke on "Colonial Furniture," with lantern slide illustrations of his points.

The spring meeting was held on April 29, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Walcott, 152 Brattle Street. Mr. Albert Harrison Hall, Keeper of the Massachusetts Archives, described "How Massachusetts Grew, 1630–1642," illustrated with lantern slides.

The annual garden party took place on May 23, in the house and grounds of Craigie House, when, in this most appropriate setting, Mr. H. W. L. Dana read "The Chronicle of the Craigie House" to an especially large audience.

The autumn meeting was held on November 12, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Bertram K. Little, 64 Brattle Street. Mrs. Cecil E. Fraser told of "Painted Decoration in Colonial Homes," illustrating her remarks with lantern slides of examples found throughout New England and in New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

The Council held its stated meetings during the year, carrying on the various details of the Society's work and existence. Following a vote of the Council, President Walcott expressed to the Chairman of the District Commission the Society's hope that a layout might be made of their roadway up Gerry's Landing without injuring the three willows beloved of James Russell Lowell and referred to in his letters. At its meeting of June 18, the Council voted to appoint Bertram K. Little Acting Secretary of the Society, in view of the much regretted absence of Mr. Briggs, continued because of illness. The Council voted the Society's thanks and deep appreciation to Mr. Pottinger for his work as editor in the preparation and publishing of Volume XV of the *Proceedings*, for the years 1920–21. At the meeting of the Council on January 12 it was unanimously voted to present the name of Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup for election as an Honorary Member of the Society.

BERTRAM K. LITTLE
Acting Secretary

January 27, 1931.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

1929

Receipts

Balance from 1928	$1,802.22	
Annual assessments	657.00	
Interest, Checking Account	26.57	
Interest, Life Membership Account	39.13	
Total		$2,524.92

Disbursements

Printing and postage	$171.88	
Clerical assistance	22.62	
Use of chairs	15.00	
Refreshments: Hicks House opening	35.00	
Annual allowance to Secretary	25.00	
Annual allowance to Treasurer	25.00	
Total		294.50
Balance		$2,230.42

Cash balance Harvard Trust Company	$1,415.17	
Cash balance Cambridge Savings Bank	115.25	
Reimbursement, advance to Hicks House Fund	700.00	
		$2,230.42

Life Membership Account

Balance 1928	$697.15	
Bequest, George G. Wright	200.00	
Balance in Cambridge Savings Bank		$897.15

Respectfully submitted,
Willard H. Sprague
Treasurer

January 24, 1930.

This account has been examined and found correct by Joseph H. Beale, Auditor. His signature subscribing to the above appears in the books of the Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER
1930

Receipts

January 1, 1930 balance	$1,530.42	
Reimbursement, advance to Hicks House Fund	700.00	
Annual dues and initiations	682.00	
Transfer George G. Wright:		
Bequest from Life Membership Fund	200.00	
Sale "Index to Paige's History"	157.50	
Interest, Checking Account	26.63	
Interest, Life Membership Fund	50.37	
Total		$3,346.92

Disbursements

Printing and stationery	$34.90	
Clerical assistance and postage	43.55	
Use of chairs	60.84	
Thompson Lighting Devices Co.	30.00	
Tuttle Co., "Index to Paige's History"	2,312.06	
Freight and miscellaneous	15.05	
Annual allowance to Secretary	25.00	
Annual allowance to Treasurer	25.00	
Total		2,546.40
Balance December 31, 1930		$800.52
Cash balance, Harvard Trust Company	$434.90	
Cash balance, Cambridge Savings Bank	365.62	
		$800.52

Life Membership Account

Balance January 1, 1930	$897.15	
Transfer George G. Wright Bequest	200.00	
		$697.15

Respectfully submitted,
WILLARD H. SPRAGUE
Treasurer

January 27, 1931.

This account has been examined and found correct by Joseph H. Beale, Auditor. His signature subscribing to the above appears in the books of the Treasurer.

REGULAR MEMBERS

1930–1931

Marion Stanley Abbot
Anne Elizabeth Allen
Mary Ware Allen
Alice C. Allyn
Charles Almy
Albert Francis Amee
Sarah Russell Ames
Albert Stokes Apsey
Agnes Gordon Balch
John Herbert Barker
Mary Emory Batchelder (L)
Elizabeth Chadwick Beale
Joseph Henry Beale
Mabel Arrabella Lewis Bell
Stoughton Bell
Edward McElroy Benson
Alexander Harvey Bill
Caroline Eliza Bill
Marion Edgerly Bill
Clarence Howard Blackall
Emma Murray Blackall
Albert H. Blevins
Mrs. Albert H. Blevins
Warren Kendall Blodgett
Ella Josephine Boggs
Annabel Perry Bonney
Maria Bowen
Walter Benjamin Briggs
Ada Leila Cone Brock
Arthur Hendricks Brooks
Elizabeth Harrington Brooks
Jessie Waterman Brooks
Sumner Albert Brooks
Josephine Freeman Bumstead
Bertha Close Bunton
George Herbert Bunton
Annie Jump Cannon
Philip Greenleaf Carleton
Sarah Swift Schaff Carleton
Flora Kirkendall Carver
Thomas Nixon Carver
Newton Russell Cazmay
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Annie Bourne Chapman
Philip Putnam Chase
Bertha Hamilton Clark
Leslie Linwood Cleveland
Edith Mary Coe
Margaret E. Cogswell
Ada Louise Comstock
Frank Gaylord Cook
Fanny E. Corne
Louis Craig Cornish
Sally Adams Cushman
Henry Orville Cutter
Elizabeth Ellery Dana
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana
Richard Henry Dana
Lily Eugenie DeKalb
Ernest Joseph Dennen
Mary Deane Dexter
Edward Sherman Dodge (L)
Harry Francis Roby Dolan

Laura Howland Dudley
William Harrison Dunbar
Frances Hopkinson Eliot
Samuel Atkins Eliot
Emmons Raymond Ellis
Frances White Emerson
William Emerson
Ephraim Emerton
Sybil Clark Emerton
*Prescott Evarts
Claire Schayer Fande
Lillian Horsford Farlow
Charles Norman Fay
Lillian Hale Fay
Eunice Whitney Farley Felton
William Wallace Fenn
Edward Waldo Forbes
Worthington Chauncey Ford
Frances Fowler
Esther Stevens Fraser
Lloyd A. Frost
Dana Taylor Gallup
Roger Gilman
Rev. C. Leslie Glenn
Mrs. C. Leslie Glenn
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi
Virginia Tanner Green
Lillian Helen Hadley
Thomas Hadley
*Edwin Blaisdell Hale
Edwin Herbert Hall
Elizabeth Harris
Albert Bushnell Hart
Frank Watson Hastings
Frances P. Hawley
Frank Wilson Cheney Hersey
Stanley Barbour Hildreth
Alison Bixby Hill
Leslie White Hopkinson
Cornelia Conway Felton Horsford
Katherine Horsford
Alberta Manning Houghton
Arria Sargent Dixwell Howe
Lois Lilley Howe
Eda Woolson Hurlbut
Edward Ingraham
Elsie P. Ingraham
Eldon Revare James
Phila Smith James
James Richard Jewett
Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett
Ethel Robinson Jones
Mabel Augusta Jones
Wallace St. Clair Jones
George Frederick Kendall
Margaret Crowninshield Kent
North Adams Kent
Justine Houghton Kershaw
Anna Read Lamber
*William Coolidge Lane
Maud Adela Lawson
Thomas Wolcott Little
Flora Virginia Livingston
Alice Mary Longfellow
Abbott Lawrence Lowell
David Gordon Lyon
Mabel Everett Harris Lyon
Elizabeth MacFarlane
Ethel May MacLeod
William Mackintosh MacNair
Emma Endicott Marean
Georgie Maria Marsters

*Deceased

Charles John McIntire
Herbert Bruce McIntire
Louis Joseph Alexandre Mercier
John Douglas Merrill
Dorothea Foote Merriman
Roger Bigelow Merriman
Nelson Case Metcalf
Josiah Byram Millett
Emma Maria Cutter Mitchell
Alice Manton Morgan
Samuel Eliot Morison
Valma Maria Morse
Emma Frances Munroe
Arthur Boylston Nichols
Emily Alan Smith Nichols
Gertrude Fuller Nichols
Henry Atherton Nichols
John Taylor Gilman Nichols
Albert Perley Norris
Mrs. Albert P. Norris
Margaret Norton
Carleton Eldredge Noyes
Charlotte Metcalfe Noyes
James Atkins Noyes
Penelope Barker Noyes
Thomas Francis O'Malley
Edward Holyoke Osgood
Margaret Nickerson Osgood
James Leonard Paine
Mary Woolson Paine
Clarence Henry Poor, Jr.
Arthur Kingsley Porter
John Lyman Porter
Lucy Wallace Porter
Alfred Claghorn Potter
David Thomas Pottinger
Roscoe Pound
Harry Seaton Rand
Mabel Rena Mawhinney Rand
Willard Reed
Robert D. Reynolds
Mrs. Robert D. Reynolds
Frederick Albert Richardson
Harriette Taber Richardson
Arthur Clendenin Robertson
Mrs. Arthur Clendenin Robertson
Fred Norris Robinson
Margaret Brooks Robinson
James Hardy Ropes
Gertrude Swan Runkle
John Cornelius Runkle
Helen McK. M. Russell
Richard M. Russell
Paul Joseph Sachs
Mary Ware Sampson
Eleanor Whitney Davis Sanger (L)
Carolyn Huntington Saunders
Francis Webber Sever
Martha Sever
Willard Hatch Sprague
Genevieve Stearns
Grace Williamson Stedman
John Hubbard Sturgis
Helen Grace Olmstead Swan
William Donnison Swan
John Houghton Taylor
*Joseph Gilbert Thorp
Alfred Marston Tozzer
Eleanor Gray Tudor (L)
Kenneth S. Usher
Mrs. Kenneth S. Usher
Bertha Hallowell Vaughan

*Deceased

Charles Peter Vosburgh
Maude Batchelder Vosburgh
Mary Richardson Walcott
Robert Walcott
Grace Reed Walden
Henry Bradford Washburn
Frederica Davis Watson
Jenny C. Watts
Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster
Mrs. Walter Wesselhoeft
Alice Merrill White
Fanny Gott White
Horatio Stevens White
Mary W. Willard
Olive Swan Williams
Samuel Williston
George Grafton Wilson
Mrs. Henry J. Winslow
John William Wood, Jr.
Charles Henry Conrad Wright
Mrs. C. H. C. Wright

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Gardner Weld Allen
Hollis Russell Bailey
Joseph Gardner Bartlett
Francis Apthorp Foster
Anna Lyman Gray
Eliza Mason Hoppin
Rysse Gilman Houghton (L)
Ernest Lovering
Phillippe Belknap Marcou
Bradford Hendrick Peirce
Philip Leffingwell Spalding
Alice Mathews Van Brunt
Mary Lee Ware

HONORARY MEMBERS

Frances Rose-Troup

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